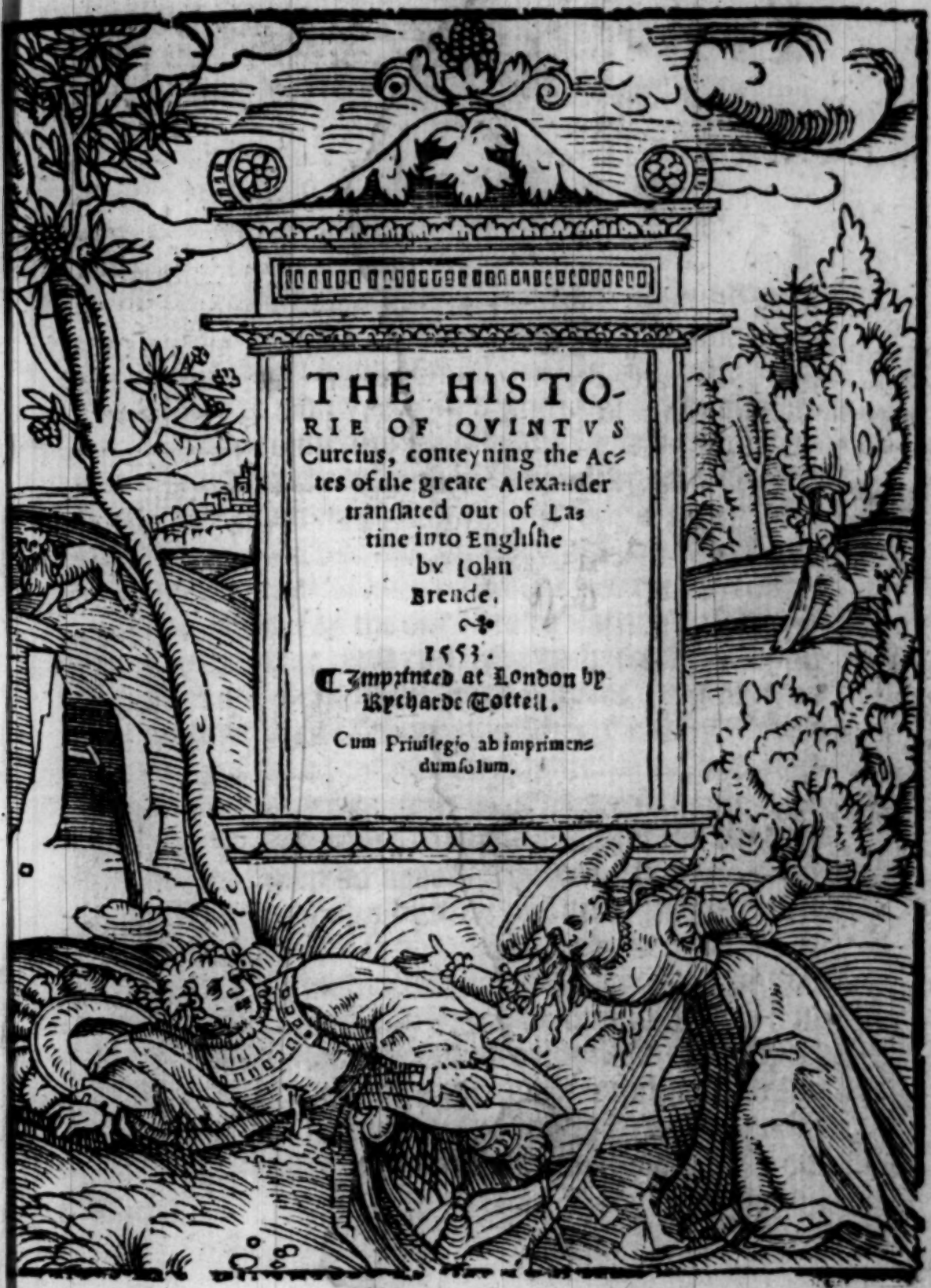
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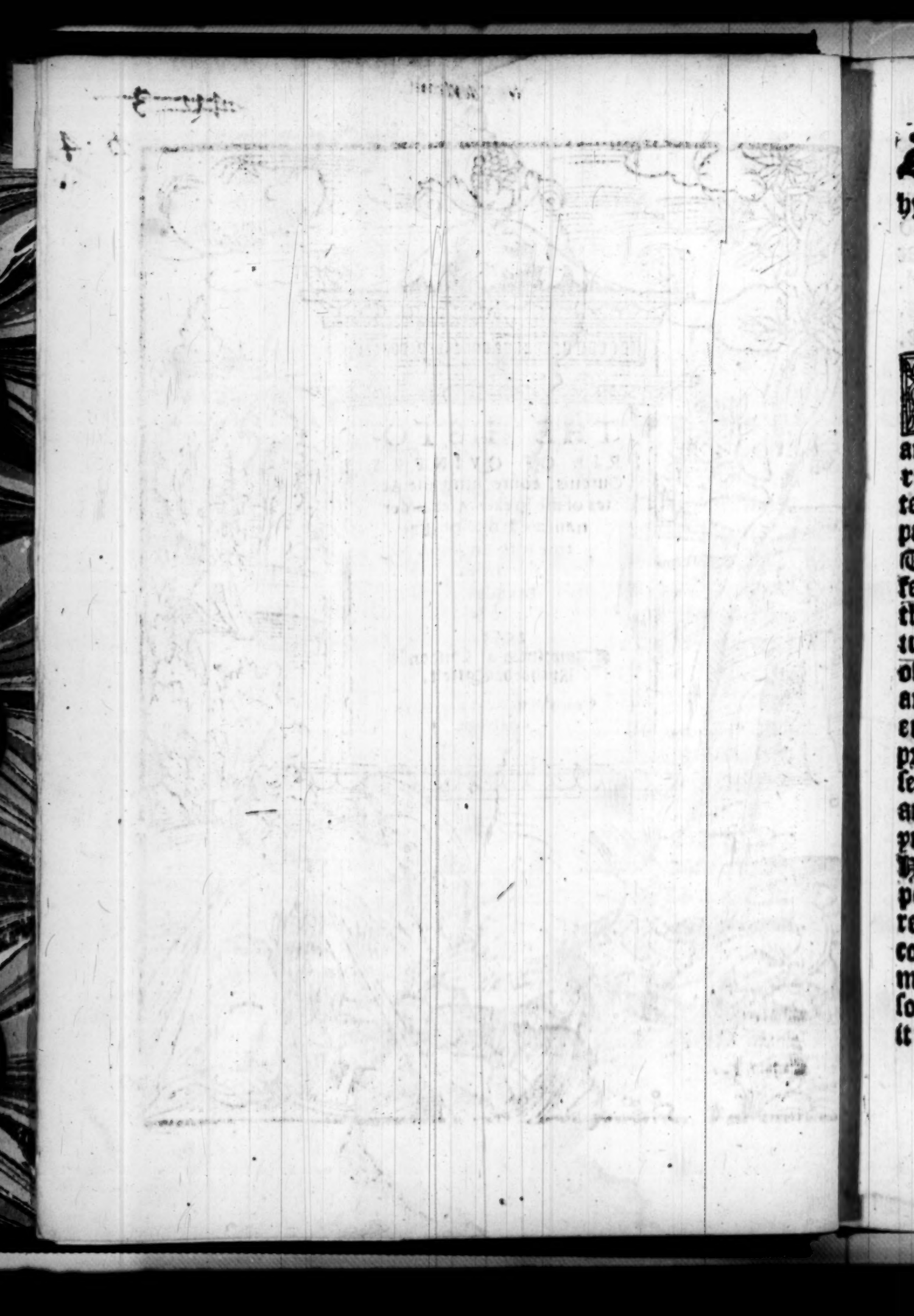


THE HISTORIE OF QVINTVS Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Brende.

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Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.



TO THE RIGHT

hyghe and myghtye Prince, Jhon Duke of Northumberlande, Earle marshall of Englande. &c. John Biende wisheth continuall prosperitie, wyth encrease of honour.

Myne haue wrytten, and experyence beſydes declareth, how neceſſary hiſtorical knowledge is to all kynd of men, but ſpecially to princes, and to others which excel in dignitye, or beare auctho-rytye in eny commune wealth: the ſame beyng counted the moſt excellent kynde of knowledge, the chiefeſt parte of ciuyl prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe. There is required in all magiſtrates both a fayeth and feare in God, and alſo an outwarde policye in worldly thynges, wherof as the one is to be learned by ꝑ ſcryptures, ſo the other muſt chiefly be gathered by readyng of hiſtories. For in them men may ſee the groundes and beginnynges of cõmen wealthes, ꝑ cauſes of their encreaſe, of their proſperous mayntenaũce, and good preſeruation: and againe by what meanes they decreaſed, decayed, and came to ruyne. There the vertues and vices of men do appeare, howe by their good doynges they flouriſhed, & by their euil actes they decayed. How they proſpered ſo lõg as they mainteyned iuſtice, perſecuted vice, vſed clemencye & mercye, were liberal, religyous, vertuous, and voyde of couetouſnes. And contrariwiſe, howe they fell into manifold calamityes, miſeries, & troubles, when they embraced vyce and forſoke vertue. In hiſtoryes it is apparãt how daũgerous it is to begyn alterations in a cõmen wealth. How en-

Hatred & ye destruction of kyngdoms.

uy & hatredes oft risyng vpō small causes, haue ben the destruction of great kyngdomes. And that disobeyers of hygher powers, & suche as rebellyd agaynst magystrates, neuer escapyd punyshment, nor came to good end. In theym there be presydentys for all cases that may happē, in folowyng the good, in eschuyng the euyl, in auoydyng inconuenyences, & in forseyng mischiefes. In them may be learnyd how to temper in prosperitye, how to endure in aduersytye, & after what maner men should vse them selues both in tyme of peace & warre. As in all artes there be certeyne pryncyples and rules for men to folowe, so in hystoryes there be ensamples paynted out of all kynde of vertues, wherin both the dignitye of vertue, & foulenes of vyce, appeareth much more lyuelye then in eny morall teachyng: there beyng expressed by way of ensample, all that Philosophy doth teach by waye of precepts. Thys is suche a kynde of knowledge, as make men apt euē wyth small experyēce eyther to gouerne in publyke matters, or in their owne pryuate affayres: For by cōparyng thynges past, wyth thynges presente, men maye easelye gather what is to be folowyd, and what is to be eschuyd. And he whyche can reade thē wyth such iudgement, waiyng the tymes wyth the causes and occasions of thynges, shall bothe see moste deepelye in all matters, best declare hys opynion, & wynne most estymacō of prudence & wysdome. For if aged men be estemyd for the wysest by reason of their experyēce. Or if Homer paynted forth in ỳ persō of Ulyxes, the ymage of a perfyte wyse man: imputyng the cause therof, to the knowledge he hadde gatheryd by trauelyng many coūtreyes, & by bewyng and marking the customes and maners of dyuers nacyons.

Then

Then such as be wel experte in hystories and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteyning to the same: must nedes obteygne profoundnes of iudgement, with a stable and grounded wysedome. For in them men may beholde, as it were before there eies, both the whole worlde, and the gouerment therof, with the policies and lawes, the discipline customes & maners of al people from the begynnyng. Thys is suche a thyng, that who so euer is clerely voyde of it, though he be endued wyth neuer so greate a wytte otherwise, with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues. Yet when he shall haue to do in weyghtye affaires, he shall fynde a certeigne mayme and imperfection, not onely in ciuyll gouerment, but also in the matters perteining to the warre.

Profoundnes.

Mayme. Imperfection.

For al though in an excellent capitaine nature must geue the chiefest partes, that is to say: hardines, stowtenes of stomacke, wyth a natural wisdome and vnderstanding: by which qualities onely (experience therunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous capitaines.

Yet thys is a thynge that geueth a greter policye, groundeth a deaper Iudgemente, addeth a further ornament and glory, and formeth a perfitnes & an excellencie in a shorter space. The shortnes of a mans liefe shortened besides by so manye casualties, is the cause that men be taken awaye before the canne get suche an actual experience as may make thē perfite, and cōmonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a ripenes in knowledge. But by thys kynd of learning in youth a man is become aged, he hathe knowledge wythout experience, he is wyse before it is loked for, he is become a counceloure the firste houre, and a man of wayte the fyfte daye. The same thynge hath bene

Ornament. Excellencie.

Casualties.

verified

verified

verified in manye, whych in young age haue bene pru-
dente councellours, and in small experience politique
capitaynes. Alexander hereof is an euidente ensam-
ple, who, brought vp vnder Aristotle in learnynge, and
so geuen to this kinde of studye, that he had Homer al-
waye laied vnder his beddes hede (whereby he myght
Admonished. be admonished of the vertues and offyce of an excel-
lent Prynce) entered into hys kingdome, whan he was
but .xx. yeares of age: and neuertheles bothe estabis-
shed hys owne estate wyth suche prudence, that wyth-
in shorte space (besides the enlargynge of hys owne
A prudent conquest. bounes) he subdued the greatest parte of the worlde.
A politique emplume. And albeit he began so young, and continued so smale
An expert souldour. tyme: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: beinge
counted the most excellente captayne from the begyn-
nyng. But if eny man wyl impute the greatnes of his
doynges to the perfyte disciplyne the Macedons vsed
in the warres, and to the politique Capitaynes, and
expert souldiers, left to hym by hys father Phillyp: it
Imprudent. shal appeare euydētly by the decaye of Realmes when
they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Prynces, and
by the ouerthrowes the Romaynes receyued when
they were conducted by cuyll Capitaines, that no pru-
dence of counsellours can take place, nor eny disci-
The people do imitate & ensue customs, euyll or good. plyne or experience of the souldiours can auayle, if the
heade be not a mā of excellēt vertue. There is nothing
newe vnder the Sunne (as the wyseman saith) and it
is impossible for eny thing to chaūce either in the war
or in cōmon policye, but that the lyke maye be founde
to haue chaunced in times past. All which thinges laied
vp in memorye, as in a place of store: mē may alwayes
occurre. be furnished for all chaunces that maye occurre.
Seing hystories be then so good and necessary, it were
much

muche requisite for mens instruccion, that they were translated into suche tonges as most men myght vnderstād them: and specially the histories of antiquitye, whych both for the greatnes of the actes done in those daies, and for the excellencie of the writers haue much maiestye and many ensamples of vertue. ¶ Therfore hauyng alwayes desired that we englishmē might be founde as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthie histories into their naturall language, did a fewe yeares paste attempte the translacion of Quintus Curtius, and lately vpon an occasion performed & accomplished the same. Whych auctour treating of thactes of ỳ great Alexāder, being figured in the Prophetes, Jeremie & Danyel, & mencioned in the first boke of ỳ Machabies, seme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the world, not without a moofte speciall prouidence and predestinacion of god: who prospered so his procedinges that (as Justine writeth) he neuer encountred with eny enemyes whō he ouercame not, he beseiged no citye that he wanne not, nor assailed nation that he subduednot. Thys so worthie a matter ¶ thoughte good to dedicate vnto youre grace, folowyng their ensample that haue trauayled in the like studye, whiche are wonte to declare their good willes, by bestowing of their labours.

Therunto ¶ was also moued ỳ rather, by considering ỳ qualities of your grace, which seme to haue certeine affinitie and resemblaunce wyth such as were ỳ very vertues in Alexander. For Arianus writeth of hym ỳ he was of a semelie stature, bolde in his enterprises, stowte of stomack, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsayle, and prouident to forsee thynges. That he was excellent in conductyng of an armye, moste politique

in

in orderyng hys battailes, that he could encourage his
souldiers wyth apt wordes, and when neade requyred
take part of their perill. What partes of this be in your
grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in
the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the
time of the kinges maiestie that nowe is, and also in
his fathers dayes of most famous memorye. Al-
though in doing hereof I haue not parauen-
ture satisfied al mens expectacyõs, yet my
trust is, that your grace will accept the
same in good part, and consider that
in a translacion a man can not
alwayes vse is owne waine,
but shalbe cõpelled to tread
in the aucthores steppis:
Whyche is harder,
and a more dif-
ficulte
thynge to do, then to
walke hys owne
pace.

The first boke of

Quintus Curtius supplied, of the actes of the greate Alexander Kyng of Macedon.

(¶)

Philip of Macedon whiche by subduing of Greace, dyd fyrst bryng his countrye in reputacion. was the sonne of Amintas a man endued wt̄ wisdome, hardines, & al other vertues of a noble capitaine. The same Amintas had by Euridice hys wyfe thre sonnes, Alexander, Perdicas, & Philip, who was the father of great Alexāder: with a doughter also called Euriones. The Quene Euridice being in amours with one that had maried her doughter, cōspired ẏ deth of ẏ king her husbād, to thintent to haue maried wt̄ hir sōne in lawe, & to make him king: which thing she had brought to effect had not the treason and whordome of the mother, bene opened by the doughter in tyme. After the deathe of Amyntas Alexander the eldest sonne enioyed hys fathers kingdome, whiche in the beginning of hys reigne was so assailed on all sydes, that he was dryuen of force to purchase peace of the Illirians with money by geuig his brother Philip hostage. And afterwardes by the same pledge made a lyke peace with the Thebans, beynge the occasion that Philip dyd atteine to suche excellencie of knowledg and wysdome. For by reason that he was committed to the custodye of Epymanundas whoo was

Amintas king of Macedon.

Amyntas, father vnto Philip.

Euridice.

Alexander, Philip, & Philip.

Alexander the sonne of Amyntas.

Epymanundas.

a valiaunte captayne and an excellent philoſopher. He was brought vp in the trade of honeſt diſciplines, and princelye maners, greatly profiting vnder a philoſopher of Pithagoras ſcole, whom Epymanundas kepte in hys houſe for the inſtruction of hys ſonne. In the meane ſeaſon Alexander was ſlaine by the meanes of Euridice his mother, whoſe former treaſon kyng Amyntas her huſbande had pardoned in reſpecte of the chyldren had betwene them, little thinkyng that ſhe would afterwardes haue bene their diſtruction. For when Alexander was dead, ſhe cauſed in like maner her other ſonne Perdycas to be ſlayne: whych Perdicas left behind hym one ſonne being a young babe. About theſame tyme Philip the youngeſt brother, being by good happe eſcaped out of priſō, returned into Macedon, and not taking vpon hym the name of kyng, remayned a great whyle no otherwiſe but as Gouernour or Tutor to his yōg neuew. Neuertheles afterwards by occaſion of ſundry miſchefes growing in the ſtate, the ſame being ſuche as mighte not well hange till the yōg king ſhould come to his age: for ỹ he appeared to be a man of ſinguler actiuitie, and of no leſſe ſkylle in feates of warre then in knowledge of philoſophie, was compellyd by the people to take vpon him to be kynge of Macedon, whiche as then ſtode in hard plight, and great daungier of ruyne. This was done. 400. yeare after the building of Rome, and the .105. Olympiade. In the begynning of hys reigne he was combred with infinite troubles, for all the cōtries neare about (as it were by a generall conſpiracie) moued warre agaynſt hym, and at one tyme ſondrye nacions ſwarmed together out of ſondrie partes to ouerronne hys kingdom Wherfore conſidering that it ſtode him vpon to worke warely (not being able to matche them all at once) pacified

Perdicas.

Philip.

eikied some wyth kayre promises, other wyth money, and the weakest he withstod with force. By ỹ meanes he both made his enemies afrayed, and confirmed the hartes of hys people, whych he found discouraged, and sore amased. These thynges he wrought wyth greate sleight and kynenes of wytte, in such sorte that he mi-nished not eny parte of his honour, estate, or reputa-cion, determyning neuertheless as time should serue to deale with euery one aparte. His first warre was with the Atheniens whome he ouercame by sleyghte and policye. And wher it lay in his power to haue put them all to the sworde, he let them all at libertye wyth-out raunsome. By whiche poinct of clemencie (though it was but counterfaite, being done for feare of a grea-ter warre at hand) yet it gate hym great good will and estimacion vniuersally. After that he subdued the Peo-ons, and from thence turned his power againste the Illyrians, of whome he slewe many thousandes, and wanne the noble Citie of Larissa. That done he mo-ued warre against the Thessalians, not for enie desire of their goodes or spoyle of their countrey, but of a po-licie to adde to his strength the force of their horsemen, whych at those dayes were counted the chiefest of the worlde. This his purpose he brought well to passe, for beyng sodeinly assailed, they were sone brought to sub-iection. So Philip ioyned the force of their horsemen vnto his footemen, whereby he made his powre inuin-cible. After all these thinges happely brought to passe, he toke to wyfe Olympias one of the doughters of Neoptolemus king of the Molossons. That ma-riage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who hadde the gouernemente of Olympias, by marryng of her other sister called Troada. Thys mariage which he thought to haue made for hys suertie, turned

Proyselis gouyded in the beginnyng.

Sleight

Philips first ware was wyth the Athe-nens.

Clemencie ioyned wyth liberalitie.

Peons. Illirians.

Thessalians.

Inuyncible

Olimpias Philippes wyfe.

Arisba.

Troada.

subuersion

afterwardes to hys subuercion. For thynking to haue made hym selfe strong by thaffinitie of Philip, he was at length by hym depryued of the hole kingdome, & ended his life myserably in exile. Not long after this mariage, kyng Philip dreamed that he sawe his wiues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to his seming a liuely Image of a lyon theruppō: by whiche dreame the deuyners & dreame readers did enterprete that hys wyfe was cōceiued of a chylde, ỹ should be of a Lions herte and courage: whiche interpretacion pleased him much.

Philippes dreame.

Wethyon.

Afterwardes at the assaulte of a citie called Wethyon, by shotte of an arrowe he loste his ryght eye. Wherof though the displeasure was greate, yet was he cōtente vpon their submissiō, to take them to mercy. He wāne also the cytie of Pagus, & annexed the same vnto hys kingdome: He inuaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one instant conquered it, with all the countreis therabout. Thus hauing made hys kingdome stronge by subduing his neighbours, at hys retourne home hys wyfe Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander the .s. daye of Apryll. Of these good fortunes the kyng reioysed no lesse then reason was, hauing stablyshed his coūtrey at home, subdued his enemies abroad, and gotten an heire to succede in his kyngdome. He coulde haue desired no more of God, if the mynde of man coulde euer be satisfyed, whiche the more it hathe the more it coueteth: As domyniō encreaseth, so doth also the desire to haue more. Whiche was well sene in Philip, that still did compasse howe to grewe greate by taking from his neighbours, and laye alwayes lyke a spie, awayting tyme and occasion, howe to catche frō euerie man. Wherunto he had occasion mynistred by the Cyties of Greace, for whiles one dyd couet to subdue an other, and through ambicion were at strife who

submission obtayneth mercy.

Pagus.

Annexed Triballes.

The byrthe of Alexandō

The mynde of man is neuer satisfyed, the more man hathe, the more he coueteth.

should

shoulde be chieke, by one and one, he brought them all at lengthe to subiection, persuading the smaller states to moue warre agaynst the greater, and to serue hys purpose, contryued the wayes to set theym all togethet by the eares. But at length when his practises were perceyued, dyuers Cityes fearynge hys encrease, confederered agaynste hym, as their commen enemye, but chiefly the Thebans. Neuertheles in a necessitye whē they were dryuen to wage men of warre, they chase hym to be their generall Cappytayne agaynste the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, whyche had spoyled the temple of Apollo. Thys warre he honorably atchyued, so that by punyshynge of their sacryledge, he gate hym selfe greate honoure in all those partes. But in thende espieng eyther of those coūtreis to be broughte lowe with ỹ war, he found the meanes to subdue both the one and the other, compellynge as well the ouercommers, as the ouercome to be hys tributaries and subiectes. Then made he a voyage into Cappadoce, where kyllynge, and takynge pysoners all the Prynces there aboutes, reduced the whole prouynce to the subiection of Macedon. He conquered Olinthus, and wythin a whyle put his fote in Thrace. For where the two kynges of that countrey were at variaunce about the lymites of their kingdomes, & chase him to be their arbitrer, he gladly toke it vpon hym. But at the daye appointed for the Iudgement, he came not thither like a Iudge wt a Counsell, but lyke a warrier wyth an armye, and to parte the strife expulsed bothe the parties from their kingdomes. By this tyme yoūg Alexander was twelue yeares of age, and beganne to take greate delyght in the feates of warre, shewynge moost manifest signes of a noble hart and Princelye courage. He was verye swifte of foote, and one daye at a solempne

Subtilitie

Philip chosen Captain agaynste the Phoceans & the Lacedemonians.

Yedmed.

Dominum,

Arbitter.

Morowyng fulle sotten.

The towardnes of Alexander.

game of counthyn~e called Olimpiacum, beynge demaunded by some of hys companions if he woulde ronne a race wyth theym: gladlye (quod he) if here were kinges sonnes to runne wythall. Another tyme when certayne Embassadours of the Persians came into Macedon, Alexander whyche in hys fathers absence toke vpon hym their entertaynement, and deuising wyth them of diuers thynges, in all hys communication there neuer passed from hym one chyldyshe or vayne worde, but eyther enquyred the state of theyr countrey, the maners of the people, the distaūce of the waies, the powre of their king, or the order of hys warres, wyth suche other like. So that the Embassadours hauing meruaile therat, esteamed the prouffe of the father to be muche lesse, thē the towardnes of the sonne, and that his courage was muche more, then was to be loked for, in one of his yeres. As oftē as tidings came that the king his father had won any stronge or ryche Towne, or obteyned eny notable victorye: he neuer seamed greatly ioyfull, but would saye to his playe fellowes: my father doth so many great actes, that he wil leaue no occasion of eny notable thyng for vs to do together. Suche were hys wordes, such was hys talke: wherby it was easy to conjecture what a mā he would after proue in age, whych so begā in youth. His delight was not sette in eny kynde of pleasure, or gredines of gayne, but in the only exercise of vertue, and desire of honoure. The more auctoritie that he receyued of hys father, the lesse he wold seame to beare. And although by ỹ greate encrease of his fathers dominiō, it seamed that he shoulde haue the lesse occasion of warres, yet he dyd not set hys delyghte in vayne pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought al the meanes he could, to vse mercial feates, and exercises of war; coueting

such

suche a kingdome, wherin for hys vertue and prowes, he might purchase fame and immortalitie. That hope neuer deceiued Alexander nor eny other, when it happeneth in a mã of vertue and noble hart, that hath will or occasion to put the same in vre. The charge and gouernaunce of thys young Prince was committed to sundrie excellẽt Maisters and gouernours, but chiefly to the greate Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue, learnyng and knowledge kynge Philip so muche estemed, that he woulde often saye: he toke no greater comforte in the byrth of his sonne, then in that he was prouided of suche a Maister for hym as Aristotle, vnder whose tuicion he remayned ten yeares. Many thynges there chaunsed besydes, whereby it was coniectured, that Alexander should proue a man of greate valoure. For when hys father sent to Delphos to receyue aunswere of the goddes who should be hys successour, the Oracle was geuen: that such one shoulde not only succede hym, but also be Lorde of the world, whom Bucephalus woulde suffre to sytte vpon hys backe. This Bucephalus was a passyng fayre horse, fyerce and full of courage, which Philip had boughte of a Thessalien for thirtene talentes, & because of hys fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron barres, yet for all that he remayned so fel & wode, that none durst come nere to dresse hym. Whereof the kyng was so weary, that he sought meanes to be ridde of the horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his father vnto ỹ stable. What a horse (qd he) is marred here for lack of good hãdling, & with that came more neare, and without eny great difficultie gate vpõ his back, & vsing both the spurre and the rodde to the vttermoste, tanne & mãnaged him so vp & downe, that ỹ horse abid it very wel. And hauing riddẽ his fill, brought backe ỹ

He vowed sins a kingdome vnworthie for one man to gouerne.

Alexander was committed to the gouernement of Aristotle

The oracle at Delphos

Bucephall a horse of great stomack.

horse againe. As he alighted, the kyng for ioye embra-
ced and kissed him, and with teares in his eyes sayed:
O sone, seke some other kingdome mete for the great-
nes of thy harte, for Macedon can not suffise the. So
that euen thē the foreseyng father, did full wel perceiue
al his possessions farre insufficiēt for his sonnes hart
After this kyng Philip determined to make warre a-
gainst al Greace, for ỹ maintenaūce wherof he thought
it great aduaūtage, if he might first winne Byzanciū,
a famous citie on the sea coast. Wherfore committing
the charge and gouernemēt of his realme to his sonne
beyng then .xv. yeres of age, layed siege to the towne
which made him great resistaunce. When he had con-
sumyd all his riches and treasure aboute the siege, he
was driuen to so narrowe shifte, that to furnishe hym
selfe of money, he became a Pirate, and roued on the
sea, where he toke .170. shippes: the spoile wherof he
departed emong his souldiours. And leste hys whole
armye shoulde be deteined about the siege of that one
citye, he sorted out the moste chosen bandes of al his
souldiours, & wente into Chersonesus, where he toke
and put to sacke manye notable townes. Because his
sonne Alexander was then about .18. yeares olde, and
had shewed euidente proufe of his vertue & manhode
in all his attemptes: hys father sent for hym thither, to
the entent he might in his warres learne and exercise
all feates belongyng to a souldiour & with him made a
voyage into Scythia vpon none other quarell, but to
spoyle the countrey. Thus vsyng the practise of mar-
chauntes, with the gaine of one warre, he bare out the
charges of an other. After he had brought the cōtrey
in subiection, because no riches of golde nor siluer was
to be gotten ther, he brought frōthence .xv. M. of men,
women, and children besides a great multitude of cat-
tale

Philippo fortis animo, ingens & magnificum nomen non satisfaciebant.

Insufficient

Byzantium

Sorted out.

Among warlyke feates game of one voyage, & benefyte of an other.

The dede Philip brought out of Scythia.

taste, xb. xx. thousand choyse mares to make a race in Macedon. In hys retourne he was encountred with the Triballes, whiche denied him passage except they they myghte haue parte of his bootye. Wherupon debatynge of the matter, from wordes they fell to fyghtyng, wherat kynge Philippe was so wounded in his thyghe, that the violence of the stroke ranne throughe the bodye of his horse, wherof all men iudgyng him to be slaine, the botye was therby loste. Assone as he was recouered of this hurte, his long dissembled grudge against the Athenians braste out so farre forth, that he made open warre vpon theym. By reason wherof the Thebans seynge the fire so neare at hande, gaue succour to their neighbours, fearing least if the Athenians were ouercome, the ende of the warres should tourne vpon theim. Wherfore the Cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to an other, confethered together in one league, and sente their Embassadours through all Greace, persuading it to be most mete with a common ayde, to withstand a cōmon enemy. Some considering the peryl to be vniuersal, stake to the Athenians. And some fearyng Philips power encreasyng, and the others decayng, toke parte with hym. In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battailes cōmitted to him, wherin his noble harte & courage did wel appeare, specially when it came to the stroke of the fight, for there he acquited him selfe so valiantly, that he semed not inferiour to his father, nor to eni mā els, but by most iust desert gotte the honour of the victory. Yet he was defrauded therof by the enuye and sleight of his father, as he him selfe complayned afterwardes. This battail was fought at Cheronye, wherin though the Athenians were the greater numbre, yet were thei ouercome by the Macedons beyng the fewer, but yet

Suite.

Philip was wounded by the Triballs

The forbeare, but forgate not when he saw occasion.

The Thebans and other cities conspired against Philip.

Take.

Defraudid.

The battail at Cheronye.

 experte

expert Souldiours by reason of their long and contynual practise in warres: neuertheleſſe the Athenyans as men not vnmyndfull of their former honour, ſpent their liues valiaūtly. That day made an ende of al the Grekes glorye, aſwel of their large rule and gouernement, as of their moſt auncient fredome and libertie, which being hardly wonne, and longe tyme kept, was thus loſt in a moment. For theſe and many other experimentes of the valour and prowes in young Alexāder, although the kyng his father did alwayes beare hym ſinguler affection and fauour, yet neuertheles by certaine occaſions enſuing it was vnhappely broken. For Philip beyng maried to Olimpias mother of Alexander (as is ſayed before) toke to wyfe beſides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great diſcorde and vnkindnes betwene the father and the ſonne. The occaſyon was geuen by one Attalus vncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted ỹ multitude to make prayers to the Goddes to ſende betwene the kyng and the new Quene a lawfull heire to ſucceede in the kingdom of Macedō. Whereat Alexander beyng moued: Thou naughty villaine (qd he) doeſt thou counte me a baſtard? And wt that word flang the cuppe at hys head. The kyng hearing this roſe vp, and with hys ſword drawen ran at hys ſonne, who by ſwarying with hys body, auoyded the ſtroke, ſo that it did no harme. Hereupon Alexander with many ſlowte and diſpiteful wordes, departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheles ſone after, by ỹ meane of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perſwaded the kyng that this diſcorde was nothing for his honoure, Alexander was ſent for againe, and much labour and great meanes was made, before they coulde be wel reconciled. Wherfore to confirme this atonement there

was

was a mariage made betwene Alexander the brother of Olimpiades (whome Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had made kynge of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe Quenes doughter. The triumphe of that daye was notable according to the state and magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his doughter, and the other mariynge a wyfe. There were set forth sundry notable playes, and deuises pleasaūt to behold. And as kyng Philip (betwene the two Alexanders, the one his natural sonne, and the other his sonne in law) was passing through the presasse wythout eny guarde: one Pausanias a younge man of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected eny such thing, sodainly slewe him starck dead, making that day whyche was appoincted to Joye and triumphe, lamētable, and dolorous by the death of suche a Prince. This Pausanias being a boy was enforced by Attalus to the vnnatural vse of his body, which not content to do so hym self, at an other open banket, caused diuers of his familiars to abuse him likewyse. Whych shame and villany greued the younge man so sore that he complayned too the kynge, whome althoughe the dyshonestye of the matter moued muche. yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respect of hys seruyce, forbare to vse eny reformacion in the matter. Thys Attalus was very neare vnto the kyng, and in special fauour, by reasō he was kynsman vnto the Quene Cleopatra whome Philip had laste maried: He was also elected generall Capytayne of the kynges armye, prepared to passe into Asia, as one that was bothe valliaunte of hys persone, and no lesse politique in the feates of warre. Upon these respectes the kynge endeuoured by al the meanes he coulde, to pacifye Pausanias (beyng kyndled wyth moste iust cause of griefe) aswell by geuynge hym

The death of Phillip.

Man purposeth, wirketh, but god disposeth, sorrowe. Pausanias.

Attalus.

him great giftes and promocions, as placynge him honorable emongeſt thoſe gentlemen that were for the guarde of his perſone. But al thys coulde not appeaſe the iuſt rage of his ire, whyche wroughte ſo in him, that he determined to be reuenged, not only vpon Attalus that did the villanye but alſo vpō the kyng that would not miniſter iuſtice. Whyche determinacion he put in effect, as is ſayd before. Many thynges myght be ſaid more of the doynges and ſayinges of this Philip, but one thynge aboue other is to be noted, that although for the more parte he was occupied in the turmoyle of the warres, and other like buſines: yet had he euer ſuche affection to the ſtudies of humanitie and good learnyng, that he both did, and ſpake, many thynges worthy memory, whych were both witty and pleaſaunt. He lyued ſeuen and fourty yeares and reigned. xxb. beynge the. xxiii. kynge of the Macedons, as they reigned in order.

One worked playnely for other.

Philippe reigned .47. yeres.

(*.*)

The seconde boke of Quintus Curtius supplied, of the actes of Alexander the great, Kyng of Macedon.

(.i.)

When Philip was dead, his sonne whiche for the greatnes of his actes was afterwardes called the great Alexander, toke vpon him the kyngdome the .426. yeare after the buyldyng of Rome, being of the age of .20. yeares. His state stode at that tyme subiect to muche enuie, hatred, and hasard from all partes. For the nacions and prouinces borderyng vpon him, could not wel beare their present bondage, and euery one of them sought howe to recouer agayne, their aunciente dominion and enheritaunce. The firste thinge he attempted after he was kynge, was the greuous execution vpon soo manye as hadde conspired hys fathers death: whiche done, he celebrated his funeralles wyth great pompe. Concerning his estate he sone established it, and that muche better thē eny man could haue imagyned, in one of so younge & tender yeares. For beynge of some had in contempte, and of some suspected to be cruell, towardes the one he bare hym selfe so stoutely that he toke from them al contempt, and to the other so gentylye, that their ymagined feare of his cruell disposition was cleane taken away. He graunted vnto the Macedōs, fredome, and priuiledge, from al exactions, and bondage, sauing frō the seruice of warre: by whiche act he gote so greate fauour and loue emonges hys people, that all affirmed by one consent, howe the persone of their kynge was chaunged and not his vertue, his name was altered, but

Alexander toke vpon him as king the .20. yere of hys age.

He beganne to Iustice.

No man can save the good will of all me.

but not his good gouernement. In the beginning of hys reigne, rebellion was made againste hym on all sides, but he by and by w an incredible stowtenes & cõstancy of mynd, stayed al their tumultes. That matter pacified and set in ozde, he went to Cozinthe in Peloponese, where callyng a generall Counsell of all the states of Greace was elected their general Capitayne agaynst the Persians, whiche before tyme had afflycted Greace with many plagues, and at that present possessyd the greatest Empize in the wozld. His father had purposed that warre before, but the preuencõ of death was the cause he brought not his purpose to passe.

Corinthe.

Alexander elected Capitain generall against the Persiãs

prevention

Whiles he was in preparation of thys enterpize, he was enfourmed howe the Atheniens, the Thebans, and Lacedemonians were reuolted from hym, and confederate wyth the Persians, and all by meanes of an Ozatour called Demosthenes, whych was cozrupted by them wyth a great somme of money. Foz the reformation whereof Alexander so sodainly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could scarselye beleue he shoulde be present, of whose commyng they had not heard before. In his waie he practysed wyth the Thessalians, and vsed to them suche gentle wozdes and apte persuasions by puttyng them in remembzaunce of hys fathers benefytes, and of the auncient kynred betwene them by their discent from Hercules: that he brought them to the pointe, by an vnyuersal decre of the whole countrey, to bee creatyd their Gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this young mã vsed, & hys diligence so effectuall in al hys doyngs, that he made al such feare him, as before were reuoltyd and regardyd him little. As the Atheniens were ỹ fizst ỹ failed, so they fizst of al repẽtyd, extollig w

Renoltyd

Demosthenes.

Expedition

celeritie

Extollinge.

prayses

prayſed Alexanders chylde hode, whyche before they had deſpyſed, aboue the vertue of the aunciente conquerours. They alſo ſent Embaſſadours to requyre of hym peace, whom, he ſore rebuked whē they came to his preſens, but yet was cōtente at lengthe to remitte their offence. And although Demoſthenes was cholē one of the Embaſſadours, yet he came not in his ſyghte but in hys waye retourned agayne to Athens. Which hys doyng was eyther for feare that he had ſo often rayled agaynſte Phylip, and ſturred the Athenians agaynſt hym: or elles to take awaye the ſuſpicion of hym ſelfe from the kynge of Perce, of whom (it was ſayed) he had receyued a great ſomme of gold to ſtande agaynſte the Macedons. The ſame thyng was layed agaynſte hym by Aeſthines in an Oracion, where he ſaieth: preſentlye the kynges golde dothe beare hys charges, but that can not laſte hym longe. ſeynge no ryches can ſuffice hys prodigall lyuyng. When Alexander had pacified thoſe ſturres that were begunne in Greace, before he woulde paſſe hys armye into Aſia, he made a iourney agaynge the Peones, the Triballes, and Thyllicians, becauſe he vnderſtod they were conſpiring togithers. And for that they bordered vpon hys countreye, and were wonte to inuade the ſame vpon euery occaſion, thought to ſet ſtay emonges them, before he would remoue hys power ſo farre of. From the Cytie of Amphipolis therefore he ſet forwardes agaynſte the Thracians, whyche at that tyme were not vnder the rule or lawe of any man. In ten dates he came to the mount Hemus, in the toppe wher of he found them encamped, with a power to reſiſt his paſſage. In ſteade of trenches they hadde impaled them ſelues wyth their cariages croſſe the ſtreightes

Clemencie ſhewed.

Aeſthynes.

No vniuſt man ſuffyre a prodigall lyuer.

Amphipolis.

Mount hemus.

Impaled.

purpo-

purposyng there to wythstand hym. And if they should be inuaded by eny other waye then by the streyghtes, they did determyne to roulle their cariages downe ỹ hyll vpō the Macedons, to breake their araye. That deuice was put in execution, but the souldiers had receyued before instructions by Alexander, as occasyon shoulde serue, eyther to open ther arraye to lette the cartes & wheales passe through thē, or els to fall flat vpō the ground, and by couering their bodyes wt their targettes auoyde the daunger. They vsed the matter accordynge to their instruccions, and when the cartes were passed by, they wyth a courage and crye mounted vp agaynst their enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When Alexander was passed the mountayne he, entred into the countrey of the Tryballes as farre as the ryuer of Ligeus. When Syrmus kyng of that lande vnderstode of hys cōmyng, he sente his wyfe and hys chyldren wyth suche of hys people, as were not mete for the warres, into an Iland called Peuca, scytuate wythin the Riuer of Danubye, into whyche Iland the Thracians bordering wyth the Triballes were fledde also. It was not longe after that Syrmus hym selfe fledde thyther lykewyse: the reste of the Tryballes that were not wyth the kyng withdrawyng into an other Iland, where they kepte them selfes agaynste Alexander. But he by polycye founde the meanes to drawe them out of their strength, wherby he slewe of them the nombre of thre thousande, and the reste fledde awaye, so that of prysoners there were fewe taken. After this battayle he marched towardes the Ryuer of Danubye, to the Iland where the Tracyans and the other Tryballes were fledde. They made notable resi-

staunce

Those souldyers were carefull, yt gaue a captaine wyll, yͤ able to geue them good instruccions.

Syrmus kyng of the Tryballs.

Peuca.

Polimie prouided preuentid m warres.

resistaūce against him, which thei might the better do, Resistaunce
by reason that Alexander wanted boates to passe into
the Iland, the bankes wherof were so high and stepe,
that they coulde not be mounted vpon, but wyth great
difficultie, the riuer besides runnynge so swifte by Difficultie
reason that ỹ streame was there dryuē into a straight.
whē Alexander perceiued the impossibilitie to assaile Impossibilitie
them, he withdrewe to an other place, where gettyng a
fewe boates, passed the Riuer in the night, to the num-
ber of .1500. horsemen, and .4000. fotemen. With that
companye he set vpon a people called Getes, that stode
ready in battail on ỹ further side with .4000. horsemē, Getes.
& .x. M. fotemen, of purpose to stoppe the Macedons
passage. But by their sodaine cōming ouer, the Getes
were so afrayed, that thei did not abide the first onset.
It seamed to them a matter of wonderful aduenture,
for Alexander in one nyght without a brydge, to passe
his power ouer the broadest and deapeste riuer of all Danuby
Europe. This matter strake suche feare in theim that
thei fledde into the woodes and desert places, leauyng
their citye desolate, whiche was taken by Alexander & Danuby.
ouerthrowen. Symus king of the Triballes, with the
Germaynes, and thother inhabitours vpon Danubie,
sent Embassadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter
with him in frendshyp and amittie. And he condescen- Condescended
dynge to their requestes, enquired of the Germaynes
what thyng it was in the world that thei doubted most:
thinkyng in dede that the terroure of his name hadde
bene the most fearfullest thyng vnto thē. But whē thei
vnderstode his meanyng, they aunswered: that they
doubted greatly ỹ fallyng of the skye. With whose pre- Mortaye.
sūptuous answere Alexāder was nothing moued, nor
further replied, sauing onely ỹ he saide: the Germains

were a proud people, and therupon dismissed them. As
Agrians. he was goyng from thence agaynste the Agrians and
Clitus Bardeleius. the Peans, he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius
Glaucias kyng of Thaulātes had rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucias the
kyng of the Thaulantes, he had also intelligence, that
the people of Anteria woulde geue him battaile in hys
Lagarus. passage. Wherfore he committed to Lagarus kinge of
the Agrians (whiche was well beloued of king Philip,
and no lesse in his fauour) the charge to go against the
Anterians Anterians, and promised him vpō his returne to geue
Cyna. him his sister Cyna in mariage. And Alexander hym
selfe with great celeritie, went agaynst Clytus & Glau-
cias, whom in sondrye battailes he ouercame and put
to flyght. Whiles Alexander was about these thinges,
he receiued aduertisement, that diuers cities in Grea-
ce, and specially the Thebans, hadde rebelled, whiche
The Grekes rebelled. thing moued him muche, and was the cause that he re-
tourned with spede to oppresse that commotion. The
Thebanes in this meane season besieged the Castle of
Thebes, wherin was a guarison of Macedones, and
went about by al meanes to winne it. Alexander came
by great iourneies to their rescue, and encamped with
The siege of Thebes. his hoste neare to the citie. Suche as bare rule emon-
ges the Thebanes when they sawe him come, contra-
rye to that they loked for, and doubtyng whether suche
ayde shoulde come to theim from other cityes as was
promised, began to consult howe to procede. At length
by a generall consent, they determined to abide the ad-
uenture and extremitye of the warre. The king in the
meane season stode at a staye, geuing them space to be
better aduised and chaunge purpose, for he was of opi-
nion, that no one Citye woulde euer haue made resi-
staūce against so great a power as he had beyng aboue

xxx.

xxx. thousand fotemen, and thre thousand horsemen, al olde souldiours, and expert in the traueyles of warre. The truste of their manhode and valiauntnes, hadde caused him to vndertake the warres against the Persians. Truely if the Thebans had geuen place to fortune, and to the time, and woulde haue required peace, they mighte easilye haue obteined it, his desire was so great to passe into Asia against the Persians. But the Thebans that were determined to trie their force, and not to make eny sute, fought against the Macedons, farre exceadyng them in numbre, obstinately, and with great mãhode. But whiles the battailes were ioining, the guarison of the castle issued out vpon the Thebãs backes, wherby being enclosed thei were vainquished, their citye taken, spoyled and vtterly rased. Which extremitie Alexãder vsed of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians, afraied by their exãple, would be the more quiet, while he shoulde be in the warres of Asia. To gratifye the Phocians and Plateans his confederates, whiche brought manye accusations against the Thebans, he slewe of them sixe thousand, & solde thirtye thousande as slaues: the money wherof commyng amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and fortye talẽtes. Yet he spared al the linage of Pindarus the Poete, wherby he woulde witnes vnto the worlde, the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this citye of Thebes was a notable woman called Timoclea, whome when a Capitaine of Thrace did rauishe, and woulde haue enforced her to confesse her money. She brought him to a well, where (she saide) al her precious geare was hidden. And whiles he stouped downe to loke into the well, she thruste him in, & threw stones after, wherby he was slayne.

The destruction of The bes.

Gratifye

Pindarus the Poet.

Alexander sued a fauor vnto Learninge.

Timoclea

A womans wyt, not to be sleke.

For this fact ſhe being committed to priſon, and afterwardes brought before Alexander: he aſked her what ſhe was, ſhe anſwered without fear, that ſhe was ſiſter to Theogenes, which beyng elected generall capitaine againſt king Philippe his father, manfully died for the libertie of Greece. At whoſe ſtowtnes and cõſtancy, the king marueiled ſo much, ỹ he cauſed her with her children to be ſet at libertie. The Athenians had ſo great pitie & cõpaſſion of the eſtate of the Thebanes, that cõtrary to the cõmaundemẽt of Alexander, thei receiued into their citie ſuch of thẽ as eſcaped. Whiche thing Alexander toke in ſuch diſpleaſure, ỹ when thei ſent Embaſſadours the ſecõd time to demaund peace, he would not graunte atonement vpon eny other condition, but that ſuch Oratours & captaines which had ſturred thẽ to rebellion, ſhould be deliuered vnto his handes. But at lẽgth the matter was brought to that point that the Oratours were reſerued, and the capitaines baniſhed, which ſtraight fled to Darius kyng of Perce. At ſuche time as Alexander aſſembled the Greciãs in Iſthmos for the determinaciõ of his iourney into Perce, many Oratours & Philoſophers came to viſite him, only Diogenes that remained aboute Corinthe, kept him ſelfe awaye, as one that eſtemed Alexander nothing at all. Wherat he marueiled much, & went to viſit him, wher he was beking of him ſelf in ỹ ſunne. He aſked Diogenes if he had nede of eny thing he might do. To whom Diogenes nether gaue reuerẽce nor thankes, but willed him to ſtand out of his ſũne ſhine. In whoſe behauiour & words, Alexãder toke ſo great delite, ỹ turning to thoſe ỹ were vp him, ſaid: if he were not Alexander, he would wyſh to be Diogenes. Whẽ he had put in order thaffaires of Greace, cõmitting ỹ rule therof together

Diogenes

with

with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernemente of Antipater, whom he moste trusted, in the beginnyng of the spring came to Hellespont with his whole armye, which he transported into Asia, with incredible spede & diligence. When they were come to the further shore, Alexander threwe a darte to the ennemies lande, and as he was armed, leaped out of the shippe with greate gladnes, and there sacrified, making petition vnto the Goddes, that they woulde vouchsafe to admitte hym king of that land. From thence he marched towardes his enemies, and forbade his souldiours to make enye spoyle vpon the countrey, perswadyng theim to spare that was their owne, and that they shoulde not destroy the thing, whiche they came to possesse. He had not in his armye aboue the numbre of .xxxii. M. fotemen, & v. M. horsemen, and but .clxxx. shippes: wherfore it is harde to iudge whether it be more wonderfull that he conquered the world, or that he durst attempt the conquest therof with so small a power. He chose not out to suche a daungerous enterprise, the young men whiche were in the first flower of their age, but the olde souldiours, of whom the more parte for their long continuaunce in warres, were by the custome at libertye, & free from the warres, sauynge at their owne pleasure. And there was no capitayne nor eny other, that bare office in his armye, vnder the age of .lx. yeares. So that the souldiours for their experience, semed to be scholemasters of the warres, and the capitaynes for their grauitie appeared to be Senatours in some auncient cōmune wealthe. That was the cause that in the fighte none of theim minded eny fleyng, but euery one conceyued the victorye in his heade, nor eny put truste in his fete, but in his handes. Alexander that euery where

Antipater.

Hellespont

Transported.

32000 fotemen & 5000 horsemen. The numbre of Alexāders armye 180 shippe

Olde souldiers best for the warres.

Captaines of 60 yeres olde.

Olde souldiers trust their hande not their fete.

Achiles. made sacrifice, did vse most solempnitie at Troy vpon Achylles tombe, of whom he was discended by his mothers side. He iudged hym moste happye of all men before him, because in suche glorye he dyed younge, and

Homer. hadde his actes set forth of suche one as Homer was. From thence he passed forwardes into the dominions

Darius king of Perce. of Darius kyng of Perce, whiche beyng the sonne of Arsanus, and the fourtene kyng after Cyrus, had gotten the possession of the Monarchie of the whole easte parte of the worlde. The chiefest cause that moued Alexander to inuade him, was to be reuenged of the domages and destructions, wherwyth his predecessours had afflicted the countrey of Greace, and also for demaundyng tribute of Philip his father, for the whiche he sent a proud and presumptuous embassiate, callyng him selfe the kyng of kynges, & kinsman of the Gods.

Proude and vaine wordes forgetting & wronge from a kyng. Lastly he had writtē to Alexander, & called him his seruaunte, and gaue commission to his Lieutenauntes, that they shoulde beate that madde boye the sonne of Philip with roddes, and afterwardes bryng him to his presence in kynges apparaile. And furthermore that they shoulde drowne both shyppe and mariners, & conuey all the souldiours that should be left on liue, beyōd the redde seas. They therfore purposing to execute the kynges cōmaundement, assembled their power at the riuer of Granike, whiche doth deuide the countrey of Troye from Propontides, hauyng to the nūber of .xx.

Troye. Propōtides M. fotemen and as many horsemen, wyth whom they had taken the ground on the further side of the riuer, where Alexander must nedes passe ouer. Wherof whē

The battel vpon the riuer of Granik. he was aduertised, though he sawe present peryll in the enterprice to fight in the water, and the ouse, from the lower ground, against his enemies, whiche had the aduauntage

uauntage of the higher banke, yet vpō a singuler trust of his owne good fortune, & the valiantnes of his souldiours, attempted the matter. At the firste he was sore encountred, and putte in greate hasarde of repulse, but at lengthe he vaynquished and ouerthrewe hys enemyes. In doynge wherof, there neither wanted policye in hym selfe, nor yet synguler manhode in hys menne. There was slayne in that battayl of the Persians .xx. M. fotemen, with .ccl. horsemē, & of the Macedons but .xxxiiii. This victorye was greatly effectuall to Alexanders purpose, for therby he wanne the citie of Sardes, beyng the chiefe strength the Persiās had for the maistering of the seas, vnto the which citie and to all the rest of the countrey of Lidia, he gaue libertye to liue vnder their owne lawes. He gote also into his possessiō the citie of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth daye after the battaile, it was abandoned of the guarison wich Darius set there. In the meane season there came Embassadours frō Magnesia, & from the Tralians, profering the deliuery of their cities. Parmenio was sent to them with .iii. M. fotemen, and .cc. horsemen with which power he wanne Miletum that stode at defence, & marching from thence towarde Helycarnassus gote all the townes theraboutes at the first approche, & afterwardes besieged Helicarnassus it self, which vō great trauail he wan at lēgth & rased it to the groūd. As Alexāder entred into Caria, Ada the quene of that countrey whiche had bene spoyled of all her dominion by Orontobates, Darius lieutenaunt (sauyng of one strong citye called Alinda) mette wyth Alexander, and adopted him for her Sonne and heire. He woulde not refuse the name and the proffer of her liberalitie, but did betake to her againe the custodye of her owne city. And besides for ỹ memory of her beneuolēce

Hasarde.

Valure and manhode should goo together.

Hamlond.

Magnesia

Parmenio.

Miletum.

Helicarnassus.

Ada the quene of Caria.

Orontobates.

Alynsia.

Licia. putte the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and subiection. From thence he wente into Licia and Pamphilia. Pamphilia, to the entente that by gettyng the possession of the sea coastes of those countries, he myght cause the sea power of Darius to stand to none effect. Whē he hadde onee subdued the people of Pysidia. Pisidia, he entred into Phrigia. Phrigia, by the whiche countrey he was enforced to passe, and marchyd towardes Darius, with whom he had great desire to encounter, hearyng saye that he was commyng agaynst him with many thousandes of men of warre.

The thirde boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, Kyng of Macedon.

(.i.)

ALexander in the meane season hauyng sẽt Cleander to wage mẽ of warre out of Peloponese & estably∫hed the cõtreis of Lycia and Pamphilia, remoued hys Armye to the Citye of Celenas through thys Citye. Ther ran at the same tyme the Ryuer of Marcia, verie famous in the Greak poesies: whose head springing out of the top of an highe mountayne, and fallyng downe vpon a rocke beneth, made muche noyse & rorying. It floweth from thence, and watreth the fyldes all aboute, wythout encrease of eny streame sauyng hys owne. The cullour wherof beyng like vnto the caulme sea, gaue occasion to the poetes to fayne, howe the Nymphes for the delyghte they toke in that riuer, chase their dwelling vnder that rocke. So long as it ronneth within compas of the walles it keapeth his owne name, but when it cometh without where the streame is more swifte and vehement, is then called Lycum. Alexander did enter into this towne, beyng forsaken of the inhabitauntes, and perceiuing they were fled into the castle which he determined to win before he departed, first sẽt to sõmon them by an Herauldе whych declared that except they would yelde them selues, they shuld suffer the extremitie of the lawe of Armes. They broughte the Herauldе into an highe towre whych was strong both by nature and workmãship, willing him to consider the thynge, and to declare vnto Alexander ỹ he wayed not sufficiently

Cleander.

Celenas.

Marcia.

Nymphes.

Lycum.

sufficiently the strengthe of the place, for they said they knewe it to be impzenable, and if the worst shoulde fall yet were thei ready to dye in their truth and allegiãce. Notwithstanding whiche wordes, when it came to the point, that thei saw thẽ selues besieged, and al thinges ware scarse, they toke truse for .lx. dayes, with this composicion, that if thei were not rescued by Darius within that time, they woulde rendre it vp into his handes. Which they did afterwardes at ỹ daie appointed, when they sawe no succours cõming. To ỹ place there came Embassadors to him frõ Athens, makyng request, that such of their Citie as were taken prisoners at the battail fought vpon the riuer of Granyke, myght be restored to thẽ. To whom aunswere was made, ỹ when the warres of Perce were once broughte to an ende, bothe theirs & al other ỹ were Greakes, should be restored to their libertie. Alexãder had his present care & imaginacion alwaies vpõ Darius, whõ he knewe not yet to be passed the riuer of Euphrates. He assẽbled therefore al his powre togethers, purposyng to aduẽture the hasard of the battaile. The coũtrey was called Phrigia that he passed thrugh, plentiful of villagies, but scarce of Cities, yet there was one of greate antiquitie called Gordiũ, the roial seat sometime of king Midas. The riuer Sangarius doth run thrugh it, & it standeth in myd way betwene the seas of Ponte & Cilicia: beynge iudged to be the narowest part of Asia, by reason of ỹ seas which lye on both sides, representinge the forme of an Iãd. And if it were not for a small point of land, that doth lye betwirt those seas, thei should ioyne bothe togethers. Alexãder hauing brought this citie vnder his obeisãs, entered into the tẽple of Jupiter, wher he saw the wagon wherein Midas the builder of ỹ Citie was wont

Impremable.

Thei yelded not before mete stipulations were framed & taken.

Empsrated

Cyty of Gordium.

Obserued

wōt to ride. The ſame in the furniture & outward appearaūce differed little frō other cōmon wagons, but there was in it a thing notable: whych was a rope folded and knit with many knots, one ſo wrethed within an other, ỹ no man could perceiue the maner of it, neyther where ỹ knottes begā, nor where thei ended. Here vpon the coūtremen had a prophesie, ỹ he ſhuld be lord of al Aſia, ỹ could vndo ỹ endles knot. That was a matter which put the king in a marueilus deſire to become the fulfiller of ỹ prophesie. There ſtode a gret nūbre about him both of Phrigians & Macedons, the one part of thē muſing to what concluſion thys matter woulde come to, and the other fearing the raſche preſumpciō of theyr kyng, foraſmuch as they could perceiue by no reſon how ỹ knot ſhould be vndone. The king him ſelf alſo doubtinge, ỹ the faſlynge of hys purpoſe in ỹ matter, myghte be taken as a token of his euyll fortune to come. After he had cōſidered the thyng: What matter maketh it (qd he) which way it be vndon, and ſtriued no lenger how to to vnknit it, but out of hande cut wᵗ hys ſword the cordes a ſondre: therby either illuding, or els fulfilling the effect of the prophecie. Whē this was done Alexāder purpoſed to find out Darius wherſoeuer he were, and to the intent he wold leaue al thinges cleare behinde hys backe, made Amphitorus captayne of hys naule vpon the coaſt of Helleſpont, cōmitting ỹ charge of the mē of war to Egilocus. Thei two had commiſſiō to deliuer the Ilāds of Leſbos, Scio, and Coos from the handes of the Percians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them. l. talentes. And ſent to Antipater and ſuche other as hadde the gouernaunce of the Cyties of Greace, threſcore talentes. He gaue order that ſuch as were hys conketherates, ſhold wyth their own powre of ſhyppes defende the ſeas of Helle-

Gordios knot.

Gordions knott, vsed endleſſe. Impoſſible to be vnknit, but cutted out.

Amphitorus
Egilocus.
Leſbos.
Scio.
Coos

Hellespont according to the leage betwixt thē. It was
Mēnon. not yet come to his knowledg how Mēnō was deade
vpon whom he set his whole regard, knowynge it that
he moued not agaynste him, no manne shoulde be hys
The Cytye of Ancyre. stoppe before he came to Darius, Alexander came too
the citie of Ancyre wher he made hys musters, & so en-
tred into Paphlagonya, whereunto the Grecians be
Phaphlago nya. borderers, of whom (it is said) the Venecias be discen-
ded. All this countrey yealdid vnto him, and gaue hym
pledges, obteining to be free of tribute, seing they ne-
uer paid eny to the Perciās. Calas was captaine ther,
who taking with him the band of souldiers that were
lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadocia.
But Darius hearing of the death of Mēnon, was no-
les moued therwith then the case required, for then all
other hope set apart, he determined to trye the matter
in parson. For he condempned althinges that had bene
done by hys deputies, hauing opiniō that good gouer-
ment wanted in many of them, & that fortune had fay-
led in them al. He came therefore to Babilon, wher he
encamped, assemblyng al his force togethers in sighte,
because he would shew the greater courage. And vsig
the ensāple of Xerxes, in taking of his musters, entrē-
ched so much ground about, as was able to receiue. x.
thousand men, within the which he lodged in the night
such as had bene mustred in the day, and from thence
they were bestowed abroade in the playne countrie of
Mesopotamia. The numbre of his horsmē and fotmē
were innumerable, and yet seamed to the syghte to be
more then they were. There were of the Persians an.
C. thousand, of whom. xxx. thousand were horsmen.
The nūbre of Darius mē of war Of the Medians. x. thousand horsmen, and. xxx. thou-
sand fotemen. Of the Barcanites two thousand hors-
men

men,with brode swordes and light bucklers,and.x.M
kotemen with like weapons.Ther were of the Arme-
nians.xl.thousand kotmen and.vii.thousand horsmē.
The Hircanians of greate estimacion emongest those
nacions had.vi.thousande horsmen.The Derbicens
were .xl.thousande kotemen armed with pikes,whereof
part had no hedes of Iron,but dried the pointes of thē
in ỹ fier.Ther were also of the same nacīō.ii.M.hors-
men.Ther came from the Caspian sea.viii.M.kotmē
&.cc.horsmē, and with thē of the rude nacions of Asia
ii.M.kotmen and,iiii.M.horsmen.To the increase of
these numbres there were.xxx.M.mercenarie souldi-
ers that were Greakes.Nast wold not suffer to cal for
the Bactrians,Sogdians,& Indians,with other the-
inhabiters of the redd sea:nacions whych had names
scarsely knowen to their owne kynge.Thus Darius
wāting nothig les thē the multitude of mē,greatly re-
loised to behold thē.And pufked vp wt the vanite,&flat
tery of the great mē which were about hym.tourned to
Charidemus of Athens an expert man of war (whych
for the displesure that Alexāder did beare him was ba-
nished his coūtrey)& asked him if he thought not ỹ cō-
pany sufficient to ouerthrow the Macedons.Wherun-
to Charidemus without respect of the kinges pride,or
of his owne estate,aunswered:peraduenture sir(qd he) ye wyl not be content to heare the truth,and excepte I tel it presently,it shalbe to late hereafter.This greate prepatation and hughe army of yours,gathered of the multitude of so mani nacīōs raised vp frō al partes of theorīēt,is more fearful to theinhabiters hereaboutes. thē terrible to your ennemies.your mē shine in colors and glister in armure of gold:exceding so much in ry-
ches,that they which haue not sene thē wt their eies cā

Charide mus words vnto Darius.

not

not cõceiue eny such thing in their mindes. But cõtrariwise, the Macedons being rough souldiers, without ani such excesse be terrible to behold. The krõts of ther battailes stand close togethers alwaies in strẽgth furnished with pikes & targets for defẽce. The which thei cal their Phalanx, is an immouable square of kotemen, wherin euery one stãd close to other, ioynyng weapõ to weapon. Euery souldier is obediẽt to ỹ whiche is commaũded him, redy at his captaines becke, whether it be to folow his ensigne, to kepe his aray, to stãd stil, to run, to ketch a cõpasse, to chaũg thorder of ỹ battail, to fyght on this side or ỹ side: euery souldier can do these things so wel as ỹ captaines. And because you shal not thinke gold & siluer to be so effectual to this matter, they begã and obserued thys discipline, pouertie being maistres. When they be wery, ỹ groũd is their bed, they are satisfied with such meate as thei find by chaunce, and they measure not their sleape by the lengthe of the nyght. Thinke you the horsmen of Thessaly, the Acharnans, and Etolians whych be inuincible mẽ of warre, wil be repulsed with slings, or staues hardened in the fire. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulse thẽ, and to be serued of the same kind of men. My coũsel is therfore that you sẽd thys gold & syluer to wage souldiers, out of those countreis from whẽce thei come. Darius was a man of a meke and tractable dyspolicion, if the height of his estate had not altered the goodnes of his nature: which made him so vnpatiẽt to heare ỹ truth, that he cõmaunded Charidemus to be put streight wayes to death: being a man that was fled to his protection, and ỹ gaue him right profitable counsell. When he was going towardes his death, he left not his libertie to speake, but said: there is one at hand that shal reuẽg my

The Phalanx of the Macedons.

my death. For he agaynst whom I haue geuen the cō-
saile, shal punish the for not folowing of myne aduice.
And thou beinge thus altered wyth the libertye thou
haste, being a kyng, shalte be an ensample to suche as
shall come after, that wheñ meñe tominit theyr do-
inges to fortune, thei clearly forget thē selues. Whiles
Charidemus was speaking theke wordes, they whych
had the charge committed vnto thē put him too death,
wherof afterwardes the kynge toke ouer late repen-
tance, confessyng hym to haue spokē the truth, & caused
him to be buried. There was one Thymones the sōne
of Mentor, a yong mā of great actiuitie, to whom Da-
rius gaue the charge of al ỹ souldiers straungers (in-
whōe he had great confidence) willyng hym to receiue
them at Pharnabasus hands, and gaue to Pharnaba-
sus the rule ỹ Mēnon had before. Thus Darys beyng
careful of the busines he had in hand, whether it were
through pensiuenes of mynd, or ỹ his fancie did deuine
thynges to come, was continually troubled wyth visi-
ons in his sleape. He dreamed ỹ the Macedons campe
was al on fire. And shortly after it seamed to him that
Alexander was brought to hys presence in such kynde
of apparail, as he him selfe did weare, when he was first
chosen kyng, and ỹ Alexāder should be caried on horse-
backe through Babilon, and so vanyshe out of syghte.
Hereupon thinterpretours of dreames with the diuer-
sitie of theyr deuininge, dyd dryue Darius into diuers
ymaginacions. Some sayde hys dreame betokened
good fortune to hym selfe, because of the fyre that sea-
med to be in hys enemyes campe, and for that Alexan-
der wythout eny vesture of a kyng, appeared in the vul-
gare apparaile of the Persians. Other dyd enterprete
it otherwyse: that the lyghtenynge in the Mace-
dons campe, sygnified glorye and victorye to Alexan-
der

Meanenge Alexander.

Repentance taken to late.

Thymones

Menthymones.

Darius dreame.

der, and also the enioyment of the empire of Asia: whych they made a cleare matter. for as much as Alexãder appered in the same vestures that Darius ware when he was chosẽ king. Care besides and trouble of mynd (as it often chaunseth) brought things by past againe to remembraũce. It was rehersed howe Darius in the beginning of his reigne chaũged ỹ scabard of his swoꝛd frõ the Persian maner, into the fashiõ that the Greakes vsed. Wherupon the Caldies dyd prenosticat that the kingdome of Perce shoulde be translated to those, whose fashion he had counterfaited. Notwithstandyng through the confidence of such prophecies as were cõmonly sowẽ abroade, and of the vision that he seamed to haue sene in his sleape, became very mery, and commaunded his army to march forwardes to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the aunciente custome emongeste the Persians, at the sunne rising to rayse their campe, and warning of their settyng forewardes to be geuen by the blast of a trompet sowned at the kynges pauilion: vpon the which there stode an Image of the sunne enclosed in christal, shyning so bryght, that it might be sene through out the cãpe. The order of their marchig was in this maner. The fire whiche they cal holie & eternall, was caried before vpon siluer aultars, and the priestes of their law went next singing after their coũtrey maner. There folowed. ccc. lxv. younge men in scarlet robes, like in nũbre vnto the dayes of the yeare. Then came the Chariote consecrated to Jupiter drawen wyth whyte palfreis, a great horse folowyng, whyche they cal the horse of the sun. Such as dyd ride vpon the palfreis dyd weare whyte garmentes, bearinge roddes of gold in theyr hands. Next in order came ten chariots garnyshed and wrought with siluer and gold

prono sticate.

The order of the percion in their marchyng.

The

The horsemen of twelue nations folowed next in sondrie sorte of armoure. Then came a company that the Persians call immortall, the riches of whose apparell, exceded farre ỳ rest: thei had al cheines of gold, coates embrodered with gold, & sleues set with Pearle. There folowed within a smale distans a band of .xv. thousand called Doryphorii, reputed for the kinges kinsmē, which were disguised in maner like women, more notable for their galāntnes and varietie of apparel, thē for the armour they did weare. Such as were wont to receyue the kynges robes, dyd ryde next before the chariot, vpō ỳ which Darius did sit on high, with great pompe and manificence: hys chariot beyng garnished on bothe sides wt carued Images of their goddes made of siluer & gold. The Steame wherof was sette with pearles and precious stones, wyth two Images of golde standing therupō of a cubite lengthe, combattant one againste the other, and ouer their heades an Egle of gold displayed. But emonges all the reste the kinges apparaile shewed maruelous sūptuouse, which was of purple empaled white, wt a border embrodered of gold, saucons fighting togithers. He was girt effeminately wyth a gyrdle of gold, and the sword that hong therupon, had the scabard made of a pearle. The diademe ỳ King ware vpon his head, called of the Persians Cydarys, had a roule about it of white and grene. Next behind the king came .x. thousande horsemen, whyche had al their speares plated with siluer, and their speare heades gilded. He was enclosed on both sydes with .cc of ỳ bloud roial, at whose backes there folowed .xxx. Mỹ fotemen, and after them .cccc. of the kinges coursers. Within the distance of one furlonge, Sisigambis the mother of Darius was caried in a wagon, and hys wife

Sisigambis Darius mother.

wyfe in an other: the traine of their women riding on horsback. Next them wēt .xb. wagons, wherin the kinges children were caried, their nurses and Enuches, which are greately estemed in ỳ coūtrey. And after thē folowed .ccc. .lx. of the kings concubines all apparelled like Quenes. Thē came .bi. c. mules and .ccc. Camels that caried the kynges treasure, garded with a band of Archers. The wiues of the kinges kinsemen, and the other that were about the kyng, came ridynge nexte, and after them a great companye of slaues and verlets. Laste came the reward lightly armed, wherof euery captayne seuerally with his owne company closed in the armye, such was the order of Darius host.

A glorious shew, wt vayne pompe, great vnyon, Litle manfode.

Alexanders arme

But on the other side beholding Alexanders armye, there was to be sene a great dyfference. Neither the men nor the horse glistered so with golde nor precious furnimētes, but only wt the brightnes of their harneyes. But they were obediēt at their captaines beck, alwaies in redines to stay or to passe forwardes, nether combred with ouergreate multitude, not pestered with to much baggage. They wāted not in eny place either grosid for their encāping, or victuales for their feding, wherby their small numbre was alwayes sufficient when they came to fyght. Wher as Darius the lorde of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of the ground, wherin he was driuen to geue battaille, could worke but the effect of a small nombre, being the thyng which he before had dispised in hys enemy. Alexander appointcted Abistamines the rule of Capadocia, & marching wt his armie towardes Cylicia, came to ỳ place called Cyrus Campe, because Cyrus lodged there, whē he passed into Licia against king Creasus. This place was destant aboute .30. forlonges from the streyght,

entering

entering into Cilicia. The countrey men vse to call those streightes Pylae, where as the naturall scytuacion of the place, had made a fortification, as it were wyth mans handes. When Arsanes gouernour of Cilicia vnderstode of Alexanders comming, remembryng what opinio Memnon was of in the beginning of the warres, put in execucio his wyse counsell when it was to late, wasting and destroieng throughout Cilicia, all suche thinges as he thought might stande his enemy in steade, leuing the countrey waste, wyche he thought he was not able to defende: where as it had ben much better to haue taken the streighte before his enemyes, where from the hilles lieng ouer the way, he myght without hasard, either haue letted his entreye, or els haue distressed him in his passing. But he leuing a small nombre for the defence of the streyght, retired hym selfe back to waste the countrey, which hys parte had bene to defende from destruccio. By his departure it came to passe that suche as he left behind, thynking them selues betrayed, woulde not soo muche as abide the sight of their enemies, when a much lesse nombre had bene sufficiet to haue kept the passage. For the scituacio of Cilicia is such, that it is enuironed rounde about with a continual rough and steape mountayne, wyche rising from the sea on the one syde, & fetching a compasse about, ioyneth againe wyth the sea on the other syde. Throughe that parte of the mountayne, wych lieth furdest from the sea, there be thre narow and rough passages, by one of the which they must entre, that will passe into Cilicia. The coutrey towardes the sea is plaine and ful of Riuers, emonges ỹ which two be notable, Pyramus, and Cydnus, but Cydnus moste special, not so much for hys greatnes, as for the

fortifiration Arsanes.

distressed.

The discripcion of Cilicia.

Pyramus. Cydnus.

clearenes of hys water, whych from hys fyrste spryng runneth pleasaũtly through al the Countrey, and hath no other Riuer runnyng into hym to disturbe ỹ pureⁿes of hys streame. For whiche cause it remayneth alwayes cleare, and also cold, by reason of the woodes that do shadowe all the banckes. Tyme hath consumed many antiquetles within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poetes. There maie yet be sene ỹ foundacions of the Cities of Lirnessus, and Cebestus, with the caue and woode of Corictus where saffron groweth, wyth many other thynges whereof nothing remayneth, sauing only the fame. When Alexander entred ỹ streightes before mencioned, and beheld the scituacion of them, he neuer in all hys lyfe marueiled more at hys owne felicitie and good fortune: confessyng that it had not bene possible for hym to haue passed, if eny had stande at defence agaynste hym, for that wyth stones only he myght haue bene destressed, the streighte besides being so narrow, that there could not passe aboue foure in a front. To thencrease of whych difficultye, the toppes of the mountaynes hong ouer the wayes, whyche in many places were broken and made holowe, with the streames that ranne down from the hilles. Alexander sente the Thracians that were lyghte armed, to store and discouer the wayes, for feare the enemyes should lye there in busshement, and sodeynly breake forth vpon hym. He appoynted also a bãd of Archers to take ỹ toppe of the hille, which were willed so to march, that they myght be alwayes in a redines to fyght. After this maner he came wyth his armye to the Cytie of Tarson, whiche was set on fyre by the Persians, because that Alexander shoulde fynde no herborow there. But Parmenio was sent

Lyrnessus.
Cebestus.
Coricius.

Alexander wondreth at good fortune.

Tarson.

thether with a choyse nombet of horsemen to quenche the fier. Who vnderstandyng that the enemies were fled awaye through his cõming, entred into ỹ Cytie, and by that meanes saued it from burning. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, dyd runne through this Cytie, where the kyng arryued about mydday, it beyng in the sommer season, what tyme the heate is no where more feruente therin that countrey. He toke suche delyghte in the pleasauntnes of the water, that he wouldе neades bathe his body, to washe awaye ỹ swette and dust he had caught. And being in an heat entered naked into the water in euery mans syghte, thynking it should be a contentacion to his souldiers, to se ỹ the furnimẽtes about his body were none other, but suche as they cõmonly vsed to weare. He was not so sone entered, but all the partes of his body began to shake aud trymble, his face waxed pale, and the liuelye heate was mortified in all partes of his body. His seruauntes toke hym vp and caried hym into his tent, as one beside him selfe, & at the extreme poinct of death. Then there was a great desolacion and heuines in ỹ campe, thei wepte, lamẽted & bewayled, ỹ such a king, so noble a captaine as had not bene sene in eny age, should thus be taken frõ them in the chiefe of hys enterprise, and bxunte of al hys busines, and that after suche a maner, not in battaile slayne by his enemies, but thus cast away bathing in a riuer. It greued them that Darius now being at hand should obtaine ỹ victorie by such a chaunce, without seing of hys enemy, & that they should be enforced to retourne backe agayne as men vanquished by those countreis, through the whiche they had passed before as victorers. In whych countries all thinges being destroyed by them selues,

Cilicia a fat Countrey.

Alexander. by bathyng in a Ryuer became in great periel of hys life.

Creete Countrey vnwholsome for Pilgryms.

or by their enemies, it was of necessitie for them to dye for honger, though no mā should pursue them. It became a question emonges them selues who shoulde be their Capitayne in their flyeng away: for what he were that durste succede Alexander: And though thei might saufely arriue at the sea of Hellespont, yet who should prepare them passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by and by was turned in compassion towardes their Prince, lamentyng as mē out of their wittes, that suche a floure of youth, suche a force of courage as was in hym, that the same their kyng and companion in armes, should after this sorte be taken from them. In the meane season Alexāder begā to fetche his wynde somwhat better, & whē he came vnto him selfe, he lifted vp his eies and began to knowe his frendes that were about hym. That the vehemence of his sicknes somwhat assuaged, was perceiued in that he began to vnderstande the perille he was in. But the pensiuenes of hys minde was greate hinderaunce vnto his healthe, for tidinges came that Darius within fiue dayes would be in Cilicia, whiche was ỹ chiefe thing that mad him to sorowe & lamēt. He coulde not take it but greuously, that suche a victorye should be plucked out of his handes through his infirmitie. And that he should be taken as one tied in fetters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therfore to him both his frendes and Phisions, and sayd vnto them: Ye se in what state of my businesse fortune hath taken me. Me thinke the noyse of myne enemies do ring in mine eares, and I whiche moued first the warre, am nowe chalenged & prouoked to the fyght. When Darius dyd wryte to me suche proude letters, he was not ignorant of myne estate. Yet peraduenture

Lyuius Imaginations, entered into the heade of the multitude.

The wordes of Alexander to his frendes in his sickenes

aduenture he shalde receiued, if I may vse mine owne minde in recouerie of mine owne health. My case requireth no slacke medicines, nor slowe Phisions, I had rather dye stoutely at once, then to consume long tyme in my recouery. Wherfore if there be eny hope or cunning in phisicke, let it be shewed. And thinke that I seke not remedie so much for mine own like, as I do for the care I haue to encountre wyth mine enemies. When they heard hym speake those wordes, they were in great doubt of his sodeine rashnes, & therfore euery one required hym apart, that he would not encrease his peril through eny hast, but suffre hym selfe to be ordred by the aduise of his Phisicios. For thei alledged ỹ vnproued remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seing his enemy had gone about to corrupt such as were about hym, by promising a. M. talentes to his killer. which cause alledged, thei thought no mã would be so bold to make eny experiens of phisicke vpõ him, which for the want of triall therof, myght in eny wyse geue cause of suspection. There was emongest the excellent phisicions that came with Alexãder out of Macedon, one Philip of Acarnon, which was preferred to him for preseruacion of his health, and had faithfullie serued him from his childhode, and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promised to prouide for the kynge an approued remedye, but suche one as woulde worke vehemently, but by ỹ drinking therof, he doubted not, (he sayd) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no mã, but only hym which in the proufe wherof should abide ỹ peril: For he coulde endure al things better then delay. Darius & his power were alwaies in his eye, & he had an assured cõfidence that ỹ victory should fal on his side, if he might be able

Stonte romage

Philip Alexanders physicion.

but to stand in ỹ sight of his men. Thy thing that only greued him, was that the Physitiō would not minister before the thyrde daye. In the meane season Parmenio, whome of all hys nobilitie he trusted moste, hadde exhorted hym by hys letter, that he should not cōmitte him selfe to ỹ cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talentes, and ỹ promise of hys syster in mariage. Those letters brought the king in great care and doubt, and moued hym to weye and ponder secretly wyth hym selfe, all those thynges, that either feare or hope coulde put in hys heade. Shall I aduenture (thought he) to drinke this medicine? What if it be poyson? shal I not then be accoũpted the cause of myne owne death? shall I suspecte the fidelitie of my Physicion? or shall I suffre myne enemie to kyl me in my bedde? yet were it better for me to perishe by other mens treason, then thus to dye through mine owne faynt harte. His minde being thus diuersely wrought, he would shewe the contentes of the letter to no man, but sealed it wyth his owne ring, and layde it vnderneth his pillow. Two daies were passed in these Imaginations, and the third daye the Physicion came to his beddes syde wyth the medicyne readye made. When the king sawe him, he raised vp him selfe vpon his elbowe, and taking the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hande toke the cuppe, and streyghte supped it of. When he had so done, he deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whyles he was readyng, he beheld hym continually in the face, supposing that if he had bene faultie, some tokē would haue appeared in his countenaunce. When Philip had redde the letter, he shewed more tokens of displesauntnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knees, and said:

Alexanders imagination

Sir

Sir, I se my lyfe doth depende vpon your health. but your recouerye shall declare that I am falsely charged with this treason: therfore when by my meanes you shall get your health, I truste ye wil not then deny me my life. In the meane season laye feare aside, and suffre the medicine to worke, and to haue hys operacio. Kepe your mind quiet, and suffer not your selfe to be troubled with the superstitious carefulnes of your frendes, which though it proceadeth of good will, is notwithstading much impediment vnto your health. Hys wordes not onely satisfied the kinge, but made hym to conceiue perfit hope of his recouerie & said vnto philip: If the goddes would haue graūted ỳ to deuise a mean to proue the cōfidence I haue in the, & the good wil I beare the, thou couldest not haue chosē eny so good as this is: for notwythstanding the letter, I dranke of the medecine, beleuing the to be no lesse carefull for declaracion of thine owne trueth, then for my healthe, & therwith gaue hym his hād. Yet afterwardes whē ỳ medicine began to worke, it was such in operacio, ỳ it seamed to verefie Parmenios accusemēt: for he fainted oft, & had much labour to drawe his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndone ỳ might serue for his purpose. He layd warme clothes to hys body, & alwaies as he fainted, reuiued him againe with the sauour of one thing & other. And whē he perceiued him once to come to him selfe, he ceased not to leade him with talke, & one while put him in remēbraunce of hys mother and his sisters, and an other while of ỳ great victorie ỳ was at hand. Whē ỳ power of ỳ medicine was once entred into his vaines, there appeared streighte in al partes of his body manifest tokens of health. First quicknes came to the spirites, and after the body recouered his strength, a great deale soner then eny mā looked

Depende.

Alexanders reconerie.

ked for. For the third day after he had bene in this case he walked in ỹ sight of his souldiours, whych wonderfully reioysed to see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip, whom euery one seuerally embraced & gaue hym thākes, as if he had bene a God. It cā not be expressed besides ỹ natural veneraciō ỹ Macedons vse to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence they especially had Alexander, and how feruently they loued him. They had conceiued of him an opinion that he could enterprise nothing, but that it was furthered by God, & fortune was so fauorable vnto him, that hys rashenes was alwayes an encrease of his glory. Hys age besides scarcely rype, & yet sufficient for so greate thynges, dyd marueylously set forth all his doinges. And thinges which out of the warres should be counted lightnes, are wont to be most acceptable to ỹ souldiers as the exercising of his body emonges the, his apparell not differing from the cōmen sort, with his courage & forwardnes in the fielde: whiche gyftes geuen him of nature, & thiges besides done of policye, did get him both loue & reuerence of his people. Whē Darius hard of Alexanders sickness, he marched towardes the riuer of Euphrates wt all the hast he could make, in cōueiyng of so cōbrouse an army. He made there abridg, & in. v. daies passed ouer his people, hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that time Alexander had recouered hys strength, and was come to a Cytie called Solos, whiche the inhabytauute yelded vnto him, and for two hūdred talentes obtayned assuraūce. Notwithstāding he put a guarisō in the Castle, and there celebrated playes, and triumphes whiche he had vowed to Aesculapius, and Minerua, for the recouery of his health: Where being geuē so quietly to his

Solos.

pastime

passime, shewed howe little he esteemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexãder was busied about these thinges, he receiued pleasaũt newes, how his men had wonne a battaille of the Persians at Halicarnassus, and that the Myndians, and Cawnians, with diuers other nacions in those partes were brought vnder his obediẽce. This triumphe once ended he remoued, and by a brydge made ouer the ryuer of Piramus, he came to the Citie of Malon: and from thence with an other remoue, came to a towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the kyng, which had bene sent to search the streightes that lay betwene them and the Cytie of Isson. He had preuented the Persians at the passage, and so leauing men for the defence therof, toke the Citie of Isson that was left desolate. He departed from thence and did driue the Persiãs out of the moũtaines, searching & clearing al the waies. So ỹ hauing made al thinges sure for tharmy to passe, he returned a-gaine both the aucthour of the acte, and reporter of the thyng done. Alexãder encamped within the Citie, and there debated in coũsaile, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary there for a more power which was comming to him out of Macedõ. Parmenio was of opiniõ that this place was most meetest to abide Darius in, & geue him battaile, where both tharmies should be of like force bi reasõ of ỹ streightes, wherin no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschue the plaines, wherin their enemies should haue great aduãtage through their great nõbre ỹ might enclose thẽ about. Wherin (he saied) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but onely feared ỹ their owne men might be ouercome wyth wearines, where a multitude should fyght with a fewe, & freshe men succede

Myndians. Cawnynus.

Malon. Castabulon

Issus.

Parmenios openion.

Monstrous vnder reason, for euil thinge ill spoke or doe.

rede in the place of them that fainted. This counsaile was receiued for good, and Alexãder determined in ỹ same place to abide his enemies. There was in ỹ host of ỹ Macedons one Sylenes a Persian, sent before time from the gouernour of Egipt vnto king Philip: who being aduaunced with reward & promocions, chose to liue out of his owne cõtrey, & so folowing Alexãder into Asia, was estemed emonges those that ỹ king trusted well. A souldier of Create deliuered hym a letter from Nabarzanes Darius Lieutenaunt, wherin he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might wynne fauour & reputacio with Darius. Silenes innocẽt of this matter, was about diuers times to presẽt the letter to the king, but seing him occupied vp weyghty affaires of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whiles he waited for a more conuenient time, he brought himselfe in suspicio of treasõ. For the letter was brought to the kinges hãdes before it was deliuered vnto him: who readyng it, did seale ỹ same with a straũg seale, and caused it to be deliuered to Silenes, to proue therby his fidelitye. But because he concealed the thing many daies, and opened not the matter to the king, it seamed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the kynges commaundement he was put to death by the band of ỹ Cretẽsians. The Greake souldiers whiche Thimodes had receyued of Pharnabasus, beyng those that Darius trusted most, were come vnto him. They perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the playnes of Mesopotamia, and if he would not do so, that at the least he should deuide his power, and not cõmit the hole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This coũsaile was not so displeasaunt vnto the kyng, as it was to such that were about

Sylenes.

The reuealyng of treason vnto princes. & of tryed dotes bringe shame to doutye, and more sorse to hym.

The grekes aduise.

Good counsell refused.

about hym: For they saied, mercinary souldiours were alwayes full of treason, and were to be doubted the more for that they counsayled the armye to be deuided, whyche was for no other purpose, but onlye that they myght haue commoditie to flee vnto Alexander, when they shoulde haue any charge committed vnto them. There is nothinge therefore more sure for vs (quod they) then to enclose them round about with our army, and to cut thē in peaces, for an ensample to the worlde, that treason should neuer be lefte vnreuenged. But Darius whiche was of a meke and good dysposicion, refused to commit so cruell an acte, in sleyng suche as hadde betaken them selues to his truste: For if we shoulde fyle oure handes (quod he) wyth their bloude, what straunge nacion wouldē euer then commytte them selues into our handes? alledgyng that there ought no man to lose hys lyfe, for geuyng folyshe counsayle. For who would be bolde to geue Counsayle, yf in counsaylyng there shoulde be eny peryll? I call you (quod he) to counsayle daily, and heare the diuersitie of your opinions, and yet mistruste not them that geue me not alwaies the best counsaile. He caused the Greakes to be answered, that he gaue them thākes for their good will. But in retournyng backe (he saied) he should geue vp him hys countrey into his enemies hāndes, which were not conuenient. And considering ỹ force ỹ fame is of in ỹ warre, in going back he should appeare to flee. But to deferre the fyght he thought it worste of al, seing so great an army as he had (the winter then approchyng) could not be vitailed in a desolate coūtrey, that had bene wasted both bi them selues and, bi their enemies. And for the deuiding of his power, he shewed that he could not do it, obseruing the customes

A tryumphe after the victorie. & vanked rounde.

Darius clemency.

Darmenians swere vnto his counsell

cl

of hys predecessours, which were not wont to hasard ꝯ battaille, but wt their hole power. He declared ꝯ Alexãder before his cõming semed terrible to the worlde, and through his absence was brought in a vaine presumption. But after he sawe him come forwardes, became ware & wel aduised, hiding hym in the streyghtes of ꝯ moũtaines, like those cowarde beastes, which hearing ꝯ noise of cõmers by, do hide them selues in ꝯ dennes of the woodes. He hath blynded his souldiers (qd he) with his coũterfeit sickenes, but nowe I wil not suffer him to prolõge the light any lenger, whiche if he wil refuse, I wil oppresse him in his lurking hole. These wordes he spake with greate auaunt, thẽ truethe, and sent his treasure and Iuelles wyth a smalle conuoye to Damasco in Syria, and entred wyth hys armye into Cilicia, bringyng wyth hym according to hys countrey maner, both his mother, hys wyfe, his little sonne, and his doughters. It chaunced the same night that Alexãder was come to the streight entring into Siria, Darius came vnto ꝯ place which thei call Pylae Amanicae: the Persiãs not doubting at all, but that the Macedons would haue forsaken the Citie of Isson, and fled away for feare. For certaine of them ꝯ were weake and could not folowe the army were taken, the whych Darius through instigation of the great men aboute him, raging in barbarous cruelty, caused their handes to be cut of, and to be ledde about his campe, to the entente they myght beholde the multitude of hys men, whõ after sufficient vewe takẽ, he let thẽ go to shewe Alexander what they had sene. Darius remoued and passed the ryuer of Pirame, purposing to pursue after the Macedones which he thought had bene fleing awaye. They which had their handes cut of, came runnyng

terrible

Pylae Amanicae.

Instigation

nyng in emonges the Macedons, declaring that Darius was comming in great haste. There was scarselyeny credence geuen to their wordes, but to be sure Alexãder sent spies towardes the Sea coast, to know whether Darius were there in persone, or els had sent some other to make a shewe of a powre. The spyes retourning, dyd reporte that his whole armye was at hand, and streyght wayes the fiers myghte be sene, which gaue such a shewe (by reason they lay straglingso farre abrode to get forage) as though the hole countrey had bene on fyre. When Alexander was assertayned of the truthe, he encamped in thesame place where the tydynges came vnto hym, being maruaylous glad because he knew he should fight, specially in ỹ streightes, being the thing that he had alwayes desyred. But as it is commonly sene, when daũgier and extremitie is at hand confidence is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without greate cause, that fortune myght chaung vpõ him, by whose fauour he had done sogreat actes, and considery̌d her mutabilitie by such thinges, as she had taken frõ other, and geuen to him. He sawe there was no prorogacion of ỹ time, but that after one night passed, the victory should be determined. Yet on the otherside, he called vnto remembraunce howe the reward ensuing of the victorye, farre exceaded the aduenture. For as the chaũce was doubtfull, so being dysconsited, he was certaine to dye with honour and perpetuall prayse. When he had waied these thinges, he gaue order that the souldiours shoulde refresshe themselues, and at the thirde watche to be armed and in a redines to set forwardes. He him selfe went vp into ỹ toppe of a mountayne with many torches and lightes about hym, where he made sacrifice vnto the goddes

Straglynge

Inceptu mitis, consideremꝰ vt tuum sit, quod petimus.

Alexanders Imaginacõ before the battaille.

Mutabilitie

prorogation

after.

The gentlemen must be vigilant, and diligent at all their enterprises, or els serue gods.

after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appointed vnto the souldiers, at the thirde sound of the trumpet, they were in a redines both to marche and fight. Then exhortacion was gyuen vnto them to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the spring of the daye they were come to the streightes, wherein their purpose was to preuente Darius. By that time such as were sent before to scowre the countrey, came in, and reported that the Persians were within .30. furlonges. Then the battayles were stayed and set in suche order as they shoulde fight. Lyke as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexander by the peasantes of the countrey, which came fearfully runnyng vnto hym, declarynge that Alexander was at hande. These wordes were not beleued, for thei could not thinke them to be comming, whom they thought before to be fledde. But when thei perceiued that it was so in dede, because they were in better order to pursue their enemies, then to encounter with them in battaile, they were striken with a maruelous sodeine feare. Euery man toke him to his armour in haste, whyche haste and the callyng that one made vpon an other, did put a greater feare emonges them. Some ran vp to the toppes of the hilles to viewe the Macedons, other fel to bridling their horses. So that the hoste ful of diuersitie, and not ruled by eny certain gouernement, with their hurly burley, put all thinges out of order. Darius at the first had appointed one part of his power to take the mountayne, whyche settynge vpō his enemies backes, myght enclose them both behynde and before: and assigned an other company to passe alonge the sea syde which was on the right hand, to kepe his enemies doing on euery parte. He gaue or-

Stoutnesse vnfurnished to feare, when lenge vse cannot vpon the bodies.

The order that Darius gaue for the battaile.

der

dze also that .xx. thousand fotemen wyth a bande of archers should passe the ryuer of Pyramus, and geue an onset that way. But if they found eny impedimēt why they might not do so, then he willed thē to retire emonges the mountaines, & inuade theyr enemies on theyr backes. But foztune whych was of greater foze then eny policie, determined those things that were wel deuised, according as she thought good. For some durste not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them, and then the rest worked in vayne, for where the mēbres faile, the whole body is confounded. The ordre of Darius army stode thus aranged to fight: his power being deuided into two battailes one marchynge on ỹ lefthand, and the other on the ryght. Nabarzanes enpaled the battaile on the right hand with a great power of horsmē, and .xxx. thousand Slingers and Archers. Thymones was also in ỹ battaile wyth .xxx. thousand mercenary Greakes, being in very dede Darys chiefest foze: a power equal vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the battaile on the lefte hand Aristomenes was in the forefront with .xxx. M. fotemen, hauing plāted for his succour & relief, suche nacions as were couted most valiaunt. There were about the kynge beynge also in that battaile, thze thousand choyse horsemen, that were of the ordinary guarde of hys persone, and .xl. thousād fotemen, wyth the horsemen of Hyrcany and Medya, and the horsemen of other nacions were wynges on bothe sydes. And besydes these numbzes, there wente before thys battaile in a forzone hoope .vi. thousande Slingers and casters of dartes. Al the plaine ground betwene the streightes was filled with men of warre, and Darius battaile stode aranged from the mountaine downe to the Sea syde. The mother and wyfe

E.i. of

of Darius wyth al the flockes of women, were receyued into the myddes of the battaile. Alexander on the other syde set hys square battayle of footemen called Phalanx (beynge the Macedons chiefest force) in the fore frõt. Nycanor the sõne of Parmenio was captaine of the battaile on the ryght hand, and with hym Cenos and Perdicas, Meleager, Tholomeus, and Amintas were ioyned euery one with his own band. Parmenio and Caterus hadde the rule of the battaile on the lefte hand, which stretched towardes the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horsmen were set in winges to both those battailes. The Macedon men, and Thessalien horsemen beyng appointed to the ryghte hande battaile, and the horsmen of Peloponese to the battaile on the other side, before which battaile, there were also set slingers with archers emongest them, and the Cretencians that were lightly armed, went before ỹ maine battaile. The bande of Agrians that were lately come out of Greace, were assigned to encountre with those ỹ Darius had sent to take the top of the mountaine. He willed Parmenio that as much as he might, he should stretch out his bãd towardes the sea, to withdrawe so far as he could frõ the hilles, whiche the enemies had taken. But such as had direction by Darius to take the hilles, neyther durst resist such as came against them, nor yet compasse about suche as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunsed wel for Alexander, for it was the thing that he doubted most, that thei from the higher ground should inuade the open side of his battaile, whyche lay vnclãcked towardes them. The Macedons marched xxvii. in a ranke, for the streightnes of the grouñd wold not suffer thẽ to go eny broader, but by little and little

The order of the Macedons.

32. In a ranke

as

as the playne betwene the mountaynes began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make their battayles broader and also for the horsemen to marche vpon the sydes. Whē both the battailes were come within sight togethers, the Persians fyrst gaue a terrible and rude shoute, whych was agayne doubled of the Macedons, not wyth their nūbre which were farre inferioure vnto the Persians, but wyth the rebounde of the hylles and the rockes, whych doubled euerye voyce of theirs. Alexander did ride vp and downe before the frontes of his battailes, makinge a sygne to hys souldiours wyth his hand, that they should not make ouer much haste to ioyne with their enemies, for bringig thē selues out of breath. And as he passed by, he vsed to euery nacīō sondry exhortacions, as he thought mete for theyr dispositions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of their olde prowes and māhode, with the nūbre of battailes that they had wonne in Europe, howe that they were come thether aswell by theyr owne desires as by his cōduct, to subdue Asia and ỹ vttermost boundes of the Orient. He shewed thē to be the people that were ordeyned to conquere the world and to passe the boundes both of Hercules & Bachus. He declared that both Bactria and Inde shuld be theirs, in respect of which the countries that they had sene were but trifles, & yet were to be gotten al wt one victory: wherein (he said) their trauaile should not be in vaine, as it was in the barreine rockes of Illiria or in the mountaynes of Thrace, but ỹ in this cōquest the spoile of the whole Orient was offred vnto them. For the getting wherof they shuld scarsely nede to occupie their swordes, since the battailes of their enemies wauered so already for feare, that with their approche only they should put thē

The exhortacions that Alexand. r gaue vnto his souldiours.

The macedons.

to flight. He reduced his father Philip vnto their memory, how he cõquered the Athenias with the coũtrey of Boetia, where he rased to the ground the noble citie of Thebes. After that he made rehearsal of the battaile wonne at the ryuer of Granikke, and of all the Cytyes that he had taken, or that had bene youlden vnto hym, with the countreis thei had passed through & subdued. When he came vnto the Greakes, he desired them to cal to mynde the greate warres that had bene made agaynst their countrey in tymes past by the Persians. Fyrste by the pryde of the Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destruction both by water and land in such sort, that the riuers could not serue them of drynke, nor the earth of victualles for to eate: rehearsyng also how the temples of their Goddes had bene by them poluted and put to ruine, their Cyties ouerthrowen, and the truces and promises by them violated and brokẽ, that were confirmed both by deuine and humayne lawes.

When he passed by the Illirians and Thracians whiche were accustomed alwayes to lyue vpon theyfte, and spoyle: he bade them behold their enemies which glistered wyth gold and bare no armour, but spoyle for them to take. He encouraged them to go forwardes like mẽ, and plucke the praie from those effeminate womẽ, and to make exchaunge of their craggye rockes and bare hilles alwayes ful of snowe, for the plentiful groundes and ryche landes of Perce. By the tyme he had made these exhortacions, they were come wythin throwe of their dartes. And Darys horsemen gaue a fierce charge vpon the right hand battaile of ỹ Macedons. For Darius desire was to trie the battaile by horsmẽ, iudgyng (as it was in dede) that ỹ chiefest power of his enemies consisted in their square battaile of fotemẽ. So that ỹ battaile

battaile where Alexãder remained, was brought to the pointe of enclosyng aboute, if he had not perceiued the same in time, who cõmaunded two tropes of his horsemen to kepe the top of the hil, & brought al the rest to ꝑ encounter of his enemies. Then he cõueied the Thessalien horsmẽ from the place where they stode to fight, willing their captaine to bring thẽ about behinde ꝑ battailes, & there ioyning with Parmenio, to do the thyng manfully that he should appoint thẽ. By this the Phalanx of the Macedons in maner enclosed aboute wyth their ennemies, foughte notably on all partes, but they stode so thick, & were so ioyned one to another, that ther wanted scope to welde their dartes. They were so mingled together, that in castinge one letted another: very fewe lighted vpõ the enemies with weake dintes, & the most part fel on the groũd without harme doing, wherfore being enforced to ioyne hand for hand, they valiantly vsed the sworde. Then there was great effusiõ of bloud, for both the armies closed so neare, ꝑ their harneis clashed together, weapon against weapon, and foined one at anothers face wyth their swordes. Ther was no place for the fearful or ꝑ coward for to fle back, but ech set his fote to other, & by fighting kept stil their place, til thei could make their way by force, & so alwaies passed forwards, as they had once ouerthrowẽ their eenemies. As thei were wered & trauailed thus wꝑ fighting, they wer euer receiued with fresh enemies: & such as were wounded might not depart out of the battayle (as it hath bene sene els where) their enemies assailed them so fiersly before, and their fellowes thruste on so hard behinde. Alexander that day dyd not onely suche thynges as pertayned to a Capitayne, but aduentured

Effusion of bloud.

him selfe as far as eny priuate souldier, couetyng by al meanes to kyl Darius, which he estemed the greatest honour. Darius dyd ride aloft vpon hys chariote, geuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assayle him, and for his owne men to defend him. As Oratres his brother appeared most notable emonges them al in his furniture and personage, soin hardines and affection towardes the kyng, he exceaded farre the rest, specially in that case of necessitye. For when he sawe Alexander approche so neare, he thrust in before Darius with ths band of horsemen whereof he had the charge, where as ouerthrowing diuerse, he put many to flight. But the Macedons swarmed so about the kinge, and were in such a courage by therhortacio that eche made to other, ỹ they charged againe vpõ ỹ band of horsmẽ. Then the slaughter was great, & the ouerthrowe manifest. About the chariot of Darius, ỹ noblest of hys captaines lay dyng honourably in ỹ sight of their prince. For lyke as they receyued their deathes woundes, so they fel without tourninge of theyr backes. Emonges them Atycies, Romythres, & Sabaces gouernoure of Egipt, hauing the charge of great numbres of menne, were ouerthrowen and slaine, and about thẽ there lay by heapes a huge numbre of the vulgare sorte, both of horsemen and fotemen. Of the Macedons also some were slayne, specially of such as pressed most forward, emonges whom the ryght shoulder of Alexander lytely was hurte wyth a sworde. In thys thronge the horses that drue Darius Chariot, were thruste in wyth pikes, whych beyng woode for payne of theyr wounes, began to struggle and ouerthrowe theyr master. He fearyng therefore to be taken a lyue, leaped downe and was set vppon a ledde horse, and so fledde, awaye casting

Oratres Darius brother.

Stronge.

Strogyle.

styng hys diademe from hys head, because he wold not be knowen. Then al hys men for feare disparcled, flyinge by such wayes as were open for them, and threw awaye their armoure, whyche before they hadde taken for their defence: Suche a thynge is feare, that refuseth the thynge that shoulde be hys saueguarde. When Parmenio sawe them flee, he streyghte commaunded the horsemē to pursue them in the chase, and put al hys ennemies to flyght that were on that part. But on the other hand, the Persians dyd put the Thessalien horsmen to a sore stresse: for at the first shocke they had broken one of theyr tropes, yet for al that whē the Thessalians sawe theyr enemies passe through them, they closed them selues together agayne and charged vpō the Persians, who by reason of their onset geuynge, and for that they thought them selues sure of the victorye, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrowē with greate slaughter. The Thessaliens had herein a great aduantage, by reason that the Persians beside that they be armed thē selues, haue their horses also barbed wyth plates of stele, whyche was the cause they coulde not, eyther in the onset, or retire be so quick as ỹ Thessalians were: for by theyr celeritie, wherin the feate of horsemen chiefly consiste, they had ouerthrowen many of them, before they coulde tourne theyr horses aboute. When Alexander vnderstode that hys men preuayled of their enemies on that parte lykewyse, was bold thē to folowe in the chase, whyche he durst not do before he knewe ỹ battaile to be clearely wōne, & thennemies repulsed on al sides. Alexander had not about him aboue a. M. horsemen. wyth whom he slewe innumerable of hys ennemies. For who is he that in an ouerthrowe or a chase can nūbre men? Those few Macedōs did dryue

Parte ouer throwen.

disparcled.

the multitude of their enemies before thē lyke sheepe. & the same feare that caused thē flee, staied thē likewise in their flieng. The Grecians ẏ were on Darius side, vnder their capitaine Amintas (which sometime had bene in great auctho*ri*tie with Alexander, but then agaynste him) brak out from the rest and marched away in ord*re* of battaile. Al the rest fled diuerse waies, some directly towardes Perce, and some by pathes, and priuy wayes, escaped by the mountaines and the wodes. A few ther were ẏ recouered their former cāpe, whiche they coulde not defēd eny time against the Macedons ẏ were victours, but the same immediatly was wonne, beinge haboūdant of al ryches, of gold and siluer, appertayning not only to the warres, but to al voluptuousnes and excesse: which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoiled, they strowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater valew. But when thei came vnto the women, as their tirementes were most precious so the more violētly they pluked them away, and their bodies were not free frō their luste & enforcement. The cāpe euery where was full of tumulte and lamentaciō, as chaūce fel to eche one. The licenciousnes of the victorers was such, ẏ their crueltie raged vpon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kynde of mischiefs wanted emonges them. There myght haue bene sene the variablenes of fortune, when they whyche had prepared Darius pauilion wyth al kynde of delicacie and riche furniture, reserued and kept the same for Alexander as for theyr olde mayster. For the Macedons hadde lefte that vnspoyled accordynge to their aunciente custome, whyche are euer wonte to receyue theyr kynge when he is victorious, into the

Amyntas.

In the victorers tyme vō sōdome seme, cities & mē some slew, or putte no regard vō god, but euhye nam sit vsheth ēs vō dome sinē.

kynges

kinges pauilion that he hath vainquished. The mother and wife of Darius that were there taken prisoners, moued all men to cast their eyes and inwarde contemplacion towardes them, wherof the one deserued to be reuerenced for the maiestye that was in her, and for her age, and the other for the excelleneye of her beauty, whiche throughe her misaduenture was nothing stayned. She was sene embracyng her little sonne in her armes, not yet of the age of sixe yeares, borne as enheritour to the dominiõ which his father newly had lost. There laye also two yong virgines in their grandmothers lappe, euẽ then mariable, which lãguished & lamẽted not so much through their owne priuate sorowe, as for the dolorousnes of the old womã. About the mother and the wife were a great numbre of noble womẽ that pulled their heere and tare their clothes, without respect what apperteyned to their estate. Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wife and his mother were come vnto, called theim stylt by the name of Quenes, wyth suche other titles of honoure as they did before. They all forgettyng their owne miserie, were diligent to enquyre the Fortune of the fielde, and what successe the battayle had where Darius was. For if he were a lyue (they saied) they coulde in no wise thinke theim selues prisoners. But he by ỹ chaunging of many horses, was by that time fledde farre awaye. There were slayne of the Persian fotemenne a hundred thousande, and ten M. horsmen. And of Alexanders company onely. 504 hurt, and .xxxii. fotemen, and .cl. horsemen killed. So greate a victorye was gotten with so smalle a losse. Alexander that was wered with pursuyng of Darius, when he perceiued the night to drawe on, & that there was no hope to ouertake him whom he folowed, returned

Darius mother, his wife, & his children taken prisoners

fortune vñ variable, & god disposeth all thinge at hys pleasure. Ex d. philetes, dorome one vnd settele eye an ote &.

xxxv. slaine of the persians

The nũber of thẽ that were slain of Alexander vñ mo 504, smete, 32 fotemen, vnd 250 horssemen slaine.

ned into the Persians campe, which a little before his commyng was taken by his men. That night he made a banquet to such as he accustomed to call, for the hurt of his sholder, wherof the skynne was but smally perished, letted him not to kepe companye. As they sate at meate, sodainely thei heard a pitifull crye, w a straung howling & lamentation, that put them al in great fear: Insomuche that the bande that kept the watche about the kynges Pauilion, fearyng it to be the beginnyng of some greater matter, began to arme thē selfes. The wife & mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken prisoners, were the cause of this sodayne feare, by lamentynge of Darius, whom they supposed had ben slaine. Which opinion they conceiued through one of the Enuches, whiche standing before their tent dore, saw a souldier cary a parcel of Darius Diademe, whiche he a little before had cast from his head. When Alexander vnderstode their errour, wepte (as it was saied) to cōsider Darius misfortune, and the womens affection towardes him. And for their comfort, sent to them one Mithrenes ꝑ betraied Sardes, who was expert in the Persian toung, but yet cōsideryng that the sight of him beyng a traitour, shold but encrease their sorow, sent a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them howe they were deceyued, and that Darius was a liue. He came towardes the tente where the women were, with certaine men in harnayes, and sent worde before, that he was come thither from the kyng. But when suche as stode at the tent dore sawe armed men commyng, supposyng their errande had bene to murther their mistresses, ranne in to theim, and cryed out that their last houre was come, for the menne were at hande that were sent to kyl thē. The seruauntes therfore

Alexander wepte for Darius misfortune.

Mithrenes.

Leonatus.

fore, that neither durste let Leonatus in, nor kepe hym out, brought him no aunswere, but remayned quietlye to see what he woulde do. When Leonatus had longe tarried at the dore, and sawe none came forth to cal him in, left his men without, and entred emonges the women. Whose commyng vnto theim before he was admitted, was the thyng that feared thē moste of all. The mother therfore and wyfe of Darius fel downe at his feete, requiryng hym that before they were slayne, he woulde suffer theim to burye Darius after hys countrey maner: whiche last obseruaunce perfourmed, they were content (they saied) gladlye to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that bothe Darius was aliue, and that there was no harme towardes theim, but shoulde remayne in the same estate they were in before. Whē Sisigambis heard those wordes, she suffred her selfe to be lift vp from the ground, and to receiue some comforte. The next daye Alexander with greate diligence, buried the bodyes of suche of his owne men as coulde be found, & willed the same to be done to the noble men of the Persians, geuyng licence to Darius mother to burye so manye as she liste, after the custome of her countrey. She perfourmed the same to a fewe that were nexte of her kynne, accordyng to the habilitye of her present fortune, for if she should haue vsed the Persians pompe therin, the Macedons myght haue enuied it, whiche beyng victorers, vsed no great curiositie in the matter. When the due was perfourmed to the dead, Alexander signified to the women prisoners, that he him selfe woulde come to visite them, and causyng such as came with hym to tarye without, he onely with Ephestion entred in emonges them. The same Ephestion of al men was most dear vnto Alexāder, brought vp

¶ Ye ende of one forme vsed in the beginninge of an other.

¶ Ye Persians vsed to burie their deade with greate pompe.

¶ Ye mother vsed no greate curiositie in burieng the deade.

Ephestion.

vp in his companye from his youthe, and moste priuye with him in all thinges. There was none that hadde suche libertye to speake his mynde plainelye to the kynge as he hadde, whiche he vsed after suche sorte, that he seamed to do it by no auctoritye, but by sufferaunce. And as he was of lyke yeares vnto him, so in shape and personage he did somewhat excell hym. Wherfore the the women thinkynge Ephestion to be the kyng, did fall downe and worshyppe him (as their countrey maner was to do to kynges) tyll suche tyme as one of the Eunukes that was take prisoner, shewed which of them was Alexander. Then Sisigambis fel downe at his fete, requiryng pardon of her ignorance, forsomuche as she did neuer see him before. The kyng toke her vp by the hand, and saied: mother, you be not deceiued, for this is Alexander also. Which his humilitie & cōtinencie of mind if he had cōtinually obserued to his latter dayes, he might haue bene thought much more happier then he was, when ỹ he hauyng subdued all Asia from Hellespont to the Ocean sea, did counterfeite the triūphes of Bacchus. Or if that emonges the reste of his conquestes, he would haue laboured to conquere his pride and his yre, beynge vices inuincible. Or if in his dronkennes he would haue abstayned from the slaughter of his nobilitye, and not to haue put to death those excellēt men of warre without iudgmēt, which helped him to cōquere so many naciōs But at this tyme the greatnes of his fortune had not yet altred his nature, though afterwards he could not bear his victories with that vertue he did winne them. Then he behaued him selfe after such a maner, that he exceaded in cōtinencie & compassion, all ỹ kinges that had ben before his time. He enterteined ỹ two quenes

with

with those virgynes that were of excellent beautye, so reuerently, as if they had bene his sisters. He not only absteyned from all violaciō of Darius wife, whiche in beauty excelled al the women of her time, but also toke great care & diligence, that none other should procure her to eny dishonour. And to all ỹ women he cōmaunded their ornamentes & apparaile to be restored. So ỹ thei wāted nothing of the magnificēce of their former estate, sauyng only ỹ assured cōfidence that creatures want in misery. Whiche thinges considered by Sisigambis, she saied vnto the king: Sir your goodnes towardes vs, doth deserue, ỹ we should make the same prayer for you, that we did sometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to passe so great a king as he was in felicitie and good fortune, that abounde so in iustice and clemencie. You vouchsafe to call me by the name of mother and of Quene, but I confesse my selfe to be your handmaide. For bothe I conceyue the greatnes of my estate past, and fele thāt I can beare this presēt seruitude. It lieth onely in your handes how we shall be dealte withall, and whether you wyl make vs notable to the worlde, throughe your clemencye or crueltye. The king comforted theim all he myght, and wyllyng theim to be of good cheare, toke Darius sonne in hys armes. Therat the childe was nothyng afrayed hauyng neuer sene him before, but toke & embraced him about the necke. He was so moued with the constancie of the childe, that he beheelde Ephestion and saide: oh I woulde that Darius had had some part of this gentle disposition. When he was departed from thence, he caused thre aultares to be made vpon the riuer of Piramus, and there did sacrifice to Iupiter, Hercules, & Minerua, and so wente forwardes into Siria. Syria.

Sisigambis wordes vnto Alexāder

He

Damasco. He sent Parmenio before to Damasco, whereas Darius treasure did remayne: who vnderstandynge by the waye that Darius had sent one of his nobles thither, fearyng that for the smalnes of his owne numbre the Damascēs would kepe him out, determined to sēd Mardus. for a greater power. But by chaunce one Mardus fel into the handes of the horsemen ẏ he had sent before to scoure the countrey, whiche beyng brought before Parmenio, deliuered hym the letters that the capitain of Damasco hadde sente to Alexander, and besides the letters added of him selfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treasure shoulde be deliuered to hym at hys arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certayne of his menne for his sure keppynge, and then opened the letters, wherin it was conteined ẏ Alexander in all haste shoulde sende one of his capitaines thither with a small power. Whiche thing knowē, he sent Mardus backe againe to Damasco, with certayne to accompanye him, but he escaped out of their handes, & came to Damasco before daye lyght. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubtyng ẏ his enemies had layed some embushment for him, & therfore durste not go an vnknowen waye without a guide. Yet notwithstandyng vpon the confidence he had in the felicity of of his prince, toke peasantes of the coūtrey to conducte him the way, which the .iiii. daye, brought him to the citie of Damasco. The captaine doubtyng that credēce should not be geuen to his letter pretended to mistrust the strength of ẏ towne, & made coūtenaūce as though he would flie away. By the spring of the daye, he caused Darius treasure (whiche the Persians call Gaza) with the reste of all his precious thinges to be brought forth of the towne, of purpose to betraye the same into the Ma-

Macedons handes. There were many thousandes of menne and women that folowed, a pitious sight to all that sawe them, sauyng to him, to whose fidelitie they were committed. For he to wynne him selfe thancke, purposed to deliuer to hys enemyes, a praye more precious then al the reste, which were such of the nobilitie as he hadde in keping, wyth the wiues and children of great men ỹ bare rule vnder Darius. And besides the Embassadors of the cities of Greece, whō Darius had lefte in the traytours handes, as in a fortresse (to hys thinkyng) of moste suertye. The Persians call those Gangabe, that carye burthens vpon their shoulders, who hauynge the cariage of thynges of moste valure, when they could not endure the colde for the frost and snowe that sodaynly fell, they put vpon them the robes of clothe of golde & purple, whiche they caried wrapt vp together with the money, there beyng no mā to let thē, for the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licencious libertye. Those kynde of men semed to Parmenio at the first sight to be no small armye, & therfore reguarded not the matter lightely, but gaue exhortaciō to those ỹ were wt him, as though they should haue fought a sore battayle, and willed theim to put their spurres to their horse, and geue the charge: Whiche thynge perceiued by theim that bare the burdeynes, fledde away for feare, and so did the menne of warre that were wyth theim, by suche wayes as they best knewe. The captaine of Damasco counterfeityng suche feare as other feared in dede, was the cause of all this confusion. The riches of Darius was lefte alone, & laye sparkeled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a numbre of souldiours, and also the apparail of so many

The captaine of Damasco, a traytor to his prince.

many great men and noble women, beſſell of golde, golden furnimētes for horſes, pauilions adorned with regall magnificence, and Wagons ful of infinite riches. A thing euen ſorowfull to behold to the ſpoylers, if eny thing could ſtaye the couetouſnes of men. Was it not a pitifull thing to beholde, the riches that hadde bene gathered together in ſo great numbre of yeres, whiles the ſtate of the Percians ſtode in that incredible height of fortune, one part to be torne with buſhes and an other drowned in the myre, it beyng ſo greate beſides, that the hādes of ỹ ſpoylers could not ſuffice for the ſpoyle. When the horſemen had ouertaken thē that fledde firſt they founde diuers women harlynge of the ſmall children, emonges whom, there were four virgines, the doughters of Ochus, that reigned next before Darius. They before that tyme hadde ſuffered chaunge of fortune, when the ſtate was altered from their fathers lyne. But this aduerſitie was much more greuous vnto them. There was in this flock the wife of Ochus, the doughter of Oxatrir that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabaſus whiche was of the heade houſe of Percia, with his ſonne alſo called Ilioneſus. The wife and the ſonne of Farnabazus were alſo taken, to whom Darius had cōmitted the charge of all the ſea coaſtes, and wyth theim the thre doughters of Mentor, the wife and the ſonne of the noble captain Mēnon. There was ſcarcely eny houſe of the nobilitie of Perce free from that euyll aduenture.

Ochus king before Darius.

There were bothe Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrarye to the league betwene Alexander and them, toke Darius parte. Emonges the Athenians Ariſtogiton, Dropides, and Leuertes were of moſte notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians

the

the chiefest were Perilippus and Onomastorides with Omanys & Callicratides. The summe of the coyned money there taken, was two thousād. lx. talentes, and of massy siluer. v. hundred talentes. Beside. xxx. thousande men, and. vii. thousande beastes that caried burdeynes on their backes. But the Goddes did persecute with due punishment the betrayer of suche a treasure. For one whom he hadde made priuye to the matter, pitiyng therin the estate of his Prince, did slea the traytoure, and brought his heade to Darius. A comfort not vnapt for the tyme to the betrayed kyng. For therby he was both reuenged of his enemye, and perceiued that the memorye due vnto his estate, was not growen out of all mens hartes.

The summe of the treasure taken at Damasco

2060. talentes. & of massy siluer 500 talentes. 30000 men, that bare burdens. & 7000 beastes that caried burdens.

& states too good for suche a villanie.

F. i.

The fourth boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the greate Alexander, Kyng of Macedon.

(c)

DArius whiche a little before was Lorde of so great an army and that came vnto the fielde caried aloofte vpō his chariot, more like to triumphe then to fight: fled by ỳ places thē wast and deserte, whiche he before had filled with his infinite numbres of men of warre. There were but fewe that folowed hym, for neither they fled al one way, nor such as folowed could kepe pace with him that so oftē chaūged horses. At lēgth he came to Unchas where he was receiued of .iiii. M. Grekes, whych cōducted him to the Ryuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his countreys to be loste, in the whyche he coulde not preuente Darius by haste making. Parmenio was appoited gouernour of Siria, and to be the keper of the treasure and prisoners whiche he toke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at the firſt beare their newe gouernemente, because they hadde not yet felte the scourge of the warres: but as they reuolted, they were streyghtwaye subdued perfourmyng all ỳ they were appointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yeldē to Alexāder, whereof Strato was kyng, that had in subiection all the sea coaſt, with diuers of the inland countries, who submittyng him selfe, Alexander remoued to the citye of Marathon. There he receyued letters from Darius, that put him in great collor, because they were so arrogantlye written, the speciall poynte that moued Alexander, was

Stratoking of Arade.

Letters frō Darius vnto Alexāder

was for ỹ Darius writing him selfe king, did not vouch safe to geue him that title, but did write rather by waye of commaundement then of request, proferyng for the raunsome of his wife and children, so muche money as Macedon coulde receiue. For the superiorite (he saied) he put it to his choise, to trye it by the swoorde if he liste. But if he woulde be better aduised, he willed him to be content with his owne enheritaunce, and so he would ioyne in amitie with him, & become his frend, in which poinct he was ready to enter into treatie. Alexãder did write to him againe after this maner: Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destructiõ vpon the Greakes inhabityng on the coast of Hellespont, & vpon the Ionians whiche be Greake Cities, passyng from thẽce the sea with a great army to make warre against Greace and Macedõ. And also kyng Xerxes thy predecessour came to subdue vs with infinite nũbres, which beyng vainquished in a battaile on the sea, lefte not withstãdyng Mardonius behinde him in Greace, to destroy their cities & burne their coũtries. It is manifest besides that Philip my father was slayne by such as were corrupted therũto wt your mony. Ye vndertake alwais vniust warres, and occupiyng armes, go about for all that to circumuent men with treason. Is thou of late hauing such numbre of men in thine army, diddest procure my death with the promisse of a thousãd talentes, I am not therfore the beginner of the warres, but repulse such iniuries as be prokered me. In doing wherof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway the right) haue brought the more parte of Asia vnder my subiection: and hauing ouercome the in battaile by force of armes, there is no cause ỹ I should graunt the

Alexanders aunswere to Darius letters.

Circumuent

eny thinge, which hast not obserued towardes me the lawe of armes, yet if thou wilt come & submit thy selfe, I promisse thee that I will deliuer bothe thy mother, wife, and children, for both I know how to get the victorye, and howe to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou feareste to commit thy selfe to vs, I wyll geue the sauf conduite to come freelye. In the rest when thou writest vnto me, remēbre that thou writest not only to a king, but also vnto him that is thy kyng. He sent this letter by Therlippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the citye of Biblon was youlden vnto him. And so came vnto Sydon whiche was a citye of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The same was vnder Stratos dominiō, supported by the power of Darius, who yealdyng more by the constreynt of the people, then of his owne good wil, was thought vnworthye to reygne there. Alexander made a graūt to Ephestion ỹ he should make such one kyng, whom the Sidons thought most worthye that estate. There were diuers noble young men in that citye that had familiaritye with Ephestion of whome he purposed to haue chosen one kynge: but they refused his offer, affirmyng that none myght enioye that dignitye, except he were descended of the bloude royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnanimitye that was in them, in despisyng the thinge whyche other sought for by swoorde and fire, and therfore saied: continue you styll in that vertuous minde, whiche be the firste that haue vnderstandynge, howe muche better it is to refuse then to receyue a kingdome. Chose you therfore suche one of the bloude royall, that maye remembre he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when they sawe diuers gapynge for it, and for the gredines they

Phenicia.
Biblon.
Sydon

Inbponed.

Magnanimitie

they

thei had to reigne, fel to flatering of such as were nere aboute Alexander, resolued that there was none more mete for that dignitye, then one Abdolominus, who beyng of the auncient bloud of the kynges, for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a small grange without the citye. His honestye was the cause of his pouertie (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in his daylye labour, heard no noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whom we spake of before, came into his gardeyne with garmētes to apparaile him like a kyng, and found him weadyng of his ground, whom they saluted kyng, and saied: You muste make exchaung of the vilenes of your apparaile, with these riche robes we here present you: washe the body that is nowe foule and filthye, take vpon you the harte of a kyng, and in this Fortune wherof you be worthye, shewe the same moderation and continencie you do vse presently. And when you shall sit in your regall seate hauyng in your handes power of the life & death of your people, do in no wise forgette the estate ye were in when ye toke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose ye did receyue it. The matter seamed to Abdolominus lyke a dreame, and asked thē if they were madde that would mocke him after that maner. But when he saw them affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, he washed him selfe, & receiuyng the garmēt which was of purple and gold, wēt with them into the palaice. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably rūne abrode of this matter. Some fauored ỹ cause, & some did disdaine it, but suche as were riche, did reproue his pouertie & base estate to suche as were nere about Alexander, whiche caused the kyng to send for him, and when he had long beholden his behauoure, sayed: your personage dothe

Abdolominus was made kyng.

Honestie hyt rayght ofsh po= ntie, in many.

The wyse do em dysprayse hys pore.

not disagre to the fame of your linage. But I desire to knowe with what patience you did susteyne your pouertie. I would to God (qd he) I coulde beare my prosperitie in like case nowe when I am a kyng. These handes did get that I desiered, and hauyng nothyng, I lacked nothyng. His wordes caused Alexander to conceyue of him a marueylous opinion, so that he gaue vnto him not onely the riches, stuffe, and furnimentes apperteynynge to the kynge before, but also manye thinges that were taken from the Persians, addyng to his dominion all the countrey neare about the citie.

An excellent exemple of patience, gaineng no Ambitious mynde.

Alexander and Liberalitie.

In the meane season Amintas wyth foure thousande Greakes that escaped with him out of the fielde, fledde to Tripolis, where he enbarked, and sailed vnto Cypres: thinkyng the worlde to be such thē, that euery one might enioy ꝑ he could get, like as it had ben his owne inheritāce. His purpose was to go into Egipt, thinking there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexāder and to waye wᵗʰ the worlde, accordyng as the time should alter. To bring therfore his souldiers to hope wel of his enterprice, he declared how ꝑ gouernour of Egipt was slaine in the battell, & that ꝑ Persiās left there in guarison were but a small number, of little force, and wout eny head. He shewed how the Egiptiās vsed to rebel against their gouernours, wherfore they were sure to be receiued as frēdes. For since necessitie (qd he) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now thinke that things to come shal be much better then our present estate. They al agreed with one voyce, that he should lead them where he list. Whereupon thinking good not to pretermit the occasion whiles the hope was hotte in their hartes, conueied them into Egipt, and entred the hauen at Pelusiū, vnder

Amintas perswasion to his souldiours.

Pretermit

Pelusium.

der pretence that he had bene sent thether by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he sette forwardes towardes Memphis, at the fame of whose commyng the Egiptians beyng a lite nation, and more apt to make a sturre, then to maintayne it when it is once begone, ranne to him out of all townes & villages, with entent to destroy al the Persians. But they notwithstandyng the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought wyth the Greakes, and were put to flyght. After that victorye Amyntas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey theraboutes, that they left nothyng vnspoyled. Wherupon Mazeches thoughe he perceiued his souldiours much amased with the feare of their late ouerthrowe, yet when he sawe his enemies scatered abrode & without ordre for the pride they had conceyued of their victory: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the citye and in settyng vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduice beyng good of it selfe, by good hãdelyng toke most fortunate successe, for they slewe at that time both Amintas and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence committed to both princes, beyng neither faythfull to Alexander whom he forsoke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius capitaynes whiche escaped from the battayle at Isson, gathering together suche men as were scatered abroade, and suche power beside as they coulde leuye in Capadoce and Paphlagonia, did attempe to recouer againe the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstandyng that he had taken many souldiers out of the guarisons to send vnto Alexander: yet he so little estemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persians receiued there the like fortune they did

Wemyyrs

The right orde of proceded.

Mazeches

Good admyst by good handlinge, takes good effect.

in other places: whyche attemptyng the fight in three
aristomenes sundrye coũtries, were vainquished in them all. At the
same time the naue of the Macedons whiche Alexan-
der had sent for out of Greace, metynge Aristomenes
(whom Darius had appointed to make warre vpõ the
coast of Hellespont) toke and drowned all his shyppes.
Farnabasus Darius admirall, hauyng exacted money
Milesium. at Milesium, and sette a guarison in Scio, passed
into the Ile of Andros with a hundred shyppes. And
Andros. Syphnus from thence he wente to Syphnus, & puttyng men of
warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of theim money.
The greatnes of the warre that was in hand betwene
two of the most puissant princes of Asia and Europe,
Agys, did drawe both Greace and Crete to armes. Agis the
kyng of Lacedemon gathered together. viii. thousand
Greakes that were come home out of Cylicia, and mo-
ued warre to Antipater, that was gouernour of Ma-
cedon. The Cretiãs folowyng sometime one part, and
sometime an other, receyued one whyte guarison of
Macedons, and an other while of Lacedemonians, to
lye amonges them. But those warres were of no great
importaunce, for all mennes eyes were fixed vpon the
warres that were in dye betwene Alexãder & Darius,
wherupon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had
The Citye of Tyre. subdued al Siria & Phenices, Tyre only except, which
beyng the greatest & most notables citye of al that coũ-
trey, shewed that they estemed them selues worthye ra-
ther to ioyne with Alexander as frẽdes, then to become
his subiectes. For when he was come nere vnto them,
and encamped vpon the mayne lande, whiche is deui-
ded from their citye wyth a small arme of the Sea.
They sent to him by their Embassadours a crowne of
gold for a present, with great plenty besides of vitailes

for

for his army. He receiued their gifts, as frō his frēds, and gaue gentle aunswetes vnto the Embassadours: but he shewed him self much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whom the Tirias specially worshipped, and the Macedō kinges supposed thē selues to be discended of him) being admonished therunto (as he said) by an Oracle. The Embassadours made aunswere: ỹ there was a tēple of Hercules without their Citie in ỹ place which they cal Phaletrō, where as he myghte do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those words Alexāder could not refraine his yre, whereunto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue nowe (qd he) because ye dwel in an Iland, ye trust so much in these cituatiō of your citie that ye dispise my lande power. But I wyll shortly do you to vnderstande, that ye dwell vpon the mayne land, and bring you in such case, as your Iland shal not helpe you: and therfore truste to it that if ye receiue me not in, I wyll enter by force. When the Embassadours were dismissed with thys aunswere, suche as were neare about the kyng, persuaded thē that thei should not exclude him, whom al Syria and Phenises had receiued. But they had conceiued such a confidēce for that their Citye stoode in the sea, deuided .lxxx. furlonges from the mayne lande, that they vtterly determined to abide the siege. That sea of theirs is muche subiecte to the southwest wynd, whyche made at euery storme the waues beate so hyghe against the shore, that it would not suffer the Macedōs to make eny worcke for the ioynting of the mayne land to the citie: it being scarsely possible to worcke eny thynge there, when the wether was moste caulme. The firste worcke that the Macedons began, was by and by throwen downe wt the vehemence of the seas that were driuen bi ỹ wind. The Siege of Tyre.

Nor

Nor thei could make no Wole so strōg within the sea, but that it was washed away, & brought downe by beating of the waues. And when the winde blewe streynable it wold bring ỳ Seas clene ouer the work. Ther was an other difficultie no lesse then thys, for by reason that the walles were enuironed about wyth the deapnes of the sea, they could rayse no engine to shote but a far of out of shippes, nor ther was not eny groūd about the citie, wherupon ladders moughte haue bene raised agaynst the walles, or approche made vnto them by land. Alexander had no shyppes, and though he had had some, and would haue coueted to bryng thē to the walles, yet by reason of the vnstablenes of the water, they mighte with shotte easely haue bene kept of. But emonges the rest of other thynges, the Tirians were wōderfully encouraged by the commynge of the Embassadours sente from Carthage, to celebrate a yerely sacrifice, accordyng to their custome. For the Tirians being the builders of Carthage, were since that tyme had in veneracion of thē as their parentes & fyrst foūders. Those Embassadores exhorted thē in eny wise to abide the siege, and promysed them shortly aide, whyche thei alleged mighte easely & sone be done, forsomuch as at ỳ time al the seas were ful of the Carthage fleates. Upō this hartyng they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engynes vpon the towers and the walles, deuiding their armour emōges the yougth of the Citie. The artificers, whereof that Citie hadde great plētye, were deuided into worcke houses to make al such thynges as were necessarye for the warres. There were deuised certaine instrumentes wherwith they myght pul downe the workes that their enemies made, called Harpagons, and also crowes of Iron named

Straunge.

Enuironed.

Carthag:

Hartinge

med Coxui, with al other thinges that myght be inuen-
ted for the defence of Cities. But a straunge thynge
is reported, that when the Iron was put in the forge & Prodigious
blowne in the fire, the same was sene to be full of drop- sightes.
pes of bloude. Whiche wonder the Tirians dyd inter-
prete as a tokē of good fortune towardes them selues,
and as a signification of distruction towardes their e-
nemies. A like thynge was sene emonges the Mace-
dons, for when a certayne souldier was breakynge of
his breade, droppes of bloude appeared therin. Wherat Aristander.
Alexander beinge astoined, Aristander that was moste
cūnyng of al the deuiners of their religion dyd enter-
prete thus the matter. If the bloude had appeared out-
wardely, then it had signified ill fortune to the Mace-
dōs, but in asmuch as it was founde within, it betoke-
ned destruction to the Citie they went about to get. A-
lexander considering his naule to be farre from him, &
that a long siege should be great impediment to his o-
ther affaires, sent officers of Armes vnto the Cytye The lawe
to perswade them vnto peace, whome the Tirians a- of nacions
gaynste the lawe of nacions dyd drowne in the Sea. broken.
Their vniuste death sturred Alexander so muche, that
he then vtterly determined to go forwardes wyth the
siege, but before he could make hys approche, it was of
necessitie for him to make a Pere or a Mole, whereby A Pere or
they myght passe from the mayne lande to the Citye. Mole.
But in the making therof there entered great dispaire
into all mens hartes, considerynge the deapnes of the
sea, whiche they sawe not possible to be fylled, scarsly by
eny deuine powre. For they thought no stones so great,
no trees so highe, nor eny cōtrey to haue such plēty as
might suffise for the buildyng of a bāke in such a place,
cōsidering ỹ sea remained alwaies troubled. And the
narowe

narower the place was betwene the citie & the lande, so muche more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiers to what effect him pleased.declared how that Hercules appered vnto him in his sleape and gaue him his hãd, profering to be his captaine and hys guide for the entraunce of the citie. Therunto he added the kyllynge of hys Emballadours,wherby they had violated & broken the law that al nacions obserued,and that ther remayned but onely one citie whiche staied his victorie. Therupon he deuided the worcke emongest his captaines,that euerye one might apply hys owne band. And so put the worck in vre,when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plentye of stones at hand of ỳ mynes of the olde citye where Tire stode before, and for the makyng of botes & towres timber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worcke did growe frõ the bottome of the Sea lyke a mountayne, but not yet broughte to the hyghe water marcke. And the further the pere was wrought from the lande vnto the Sea warde, so muche the soner the Sea dyd swallowe vp the substaunce of thyngs,wherof the same was made. Whyles the Macedons were thus about their worcke ỳ Tirias would come about thẽ in smal vessels,& giue them wordes of repreche and scorne:as that they were nowe become goodly menne of warre, that woulde be made pioners and cary burdens like beastes vpõ their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to be greater then the God of the Sea. But theyr reproke did not hinder but encrease the cherefulnes of of the souldiers in their payne and trauayle. In so much the Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water,& encreasing much in breadth, approched neare vnto

Mont: Libanus.

vnto the Cytye. Then the Tirians seinge the hugenes of the woorcke, in the increase whereof they sawe them selues discerned, little thynckynge that it woulde haue growen to such a passe, in little vessels came rowing aboute the Pere, and did driue the souldiers with shotte from their worckinge, and because it lay in them to bring their boates sodeinly forwardes, and returne sone agayne, they hurt many of ỹ Macedons without eny daunger to them selues, enforcinge them to leaue their worcke, and fal to their owne defence. For remedie whereof, and too auoide their enemies shotte, they were compelled to streatch out beastes skynnes vpon poles like sailes, and set those betwene thē and their enemies. And besides at the head of the Peare, they rased vp two Towers from whence wyth shote and castynge of dartes they keapt of the boates that came aboute them. On the other side the Tirians would land wyth their boates farre out of the sight of the Campe, and kylle suche as were carrynge of stones. The peasantes besydes of Arabie, did set vpon certayne Macedons that were scatered abroade in the mount Libanus, where they slewe and toke diuers. That was one cause whiche moued Alexander to deuide hys armye. And lest he myghte seme to remayne idlely aboute the siege of one Citie, he appointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the woorcke he had in hand, and wente into Arabia wyth suche parte of hys powre moste apte for his purpose. In the meane season the Tyrians prepared a greate shyppe laden wyth stones and grauell behinde, so that the fore parte floted aboue the watter, whiche shyp anointed ouer with pitche and brymstone, they brought sodenly by sailing and force of ores vnto the Pere, and there remaynynge the mari- Arabis.

ners

ners set the shyp on fire, and then leaped into boates which folowed after for the purpose. The shyp thus set on fire so enflamed the woode worke perteining to the Pere, that before eny rescue could come, the fire had taken the towers of the Pere, & al the rest of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, sawe the matter take such effecte, they put betwixt ỹ timbre and other boyde places, both fire brandes, and al such thinges as myght geue nourishment and encrease to the fire: so that the towers & al the rest beinge on a flame, manye of the Macedons were consumed therewith. and the rest forsoke their armour and threwe theym selues into the sea. Then the Tirians that were more desirous to take thē on lyue, then to kill theim wyth staues and stones did so beate them on the handes as they were swimming, that for werines they were glad to be take vp into their boats. The whole worcke was not cōsumed with this fire only, for it chaunced also the same daye a terrible winde to ryse, which blowing out of the sea, brought the waues with suche violence vpon the Mole, that wyth often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knit the worcke together, began to lose and leaue their holde. Thē the water that washed through, brake downe the Mole in the myddes, so that the heapes of stones whyche were before susteyned by the tymbre and earth cast betwixte thē once broken a sonder, the whole worcke fel to ruine and was caried away into the deape sea. By that tyme Alexander was returned out of Arabye, and scarselye found eny remaine or token, that eny suche worcke had bene. In that case (as it is euer vsed in thynges that chaunce euil) one laide the faulte vpō another, when in dede the violēce of the sea was the cause of al. Alexander

der began to make the Pere againe after a newe sorte: the heade therof lyng into the wether and the wind, & not the open side as it did before: So that the fore frõt alwayes defended the rest of the worke lying behinde. He encreased also the breadth therof, to the intent ỹ towers might be builded in the middes of ỹ Pere, whereby they shuld be least subiect to ỹ enemies shot. Whole trees were put into the sea with their toppes and braũches, and after great stones throwen vpon them. And ouer those a newe course of trees and stones agayne, by which deuice this whole worcke was ioyned, & knit al in one. As the Macedons were busye to bryng their worcke forwardes, so the Tirians were as diligente to inuent al such thinges, as mighte geue impediment to their proceding. Their chiefe practyse was for a numbre of them to enter into the Sea a farre of out of the Macedons sight, and so come diuing vnder the water tyll they came vnto the Peere, where wyth hokes they woulde pull vnto them the braunches of the trees that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substaunce folowed after into the deape. For the trees beinge discharged of their burden were easelye drawen away and then the foũdaciõ fallyng, the whole worcke that staied vpon the trees fel to ruyne. Emonges these impedimentes Alexander stode in great perplexitie of mynd, doubting whether he should continue the siege stil, or els departe his waye. When he was in thys imaginacion, sodainelye his nauye arriued from Cipres, and Cleander also wyth suche souldiers as he had brought out of Greace. And hauinge to the numbre of .C. lxxx. shippes, deuided them into two battailes, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the kinge of Cipres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of the

A newe Pere made after another sorte.

Impediment

Perplexitie

Pithagoras kinge of Cipres

the other him selfe, cõmitting his own parson in a Galey called Cinqreme, which had fiue oores on a banke. The Tirias durst not aduẽture the sea fight although they had a great nauy, but set al their galeis in a frõte before the walles of their Citie, which the king assailed and put to distres. The next day the Macedons wyth their shippes enuironed the Citie rounde about, & dyd beate downe the walles, speciallye with such engynes as they call Arietes. But the Tirians straight way rẽforced and made vp their walles agayne with stones þ lay at hand, and raised vp an inwarde walle rounde aboute wythin the Citie, whiche might be their defence if the other failed. But their destruction approched on euery syde, the Mole was wrought within the caste of darte, and the shippes gaue the approche round aboute the walles, so that they were ouer laide bothe by Sea and by lande. The Macedons hadde deuised to ioyne their galeis two and two together in suche sorte that the forepartes met close before, and the hinderpartes laye farre of one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaininge betwixt puppe and puppe, they made brydges with mastes and maine yardes laied betwixt Galey and Galey faste bounde together to carye souldiers vpon. Whẽ they had put their galeis in this order, thei set forwardes towardes the Citye. And hauinge rampared the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behinde, they stoode in the Galeis and dyd shoote and cast dartes against their enemies wythout eny peril or daunger to them selues. It was mydnyght when they had commaundemente to set forwardes after the maner. As the shyppes were approchynge on all partes, and the Tirians stoode astonied for feare and despe-

Arietes.

Reparred.

A Tempest.

ration: sodainelye the skye was ouerwhelmed wyth

dymme

dimme clowdes, & a sodeine darkenes toke awaye the light. Then the sea by little & litle waxed terrible and roughe, the wynde blewe rayling vp the waues, and did beate the shippes one againste an other: the violence wherof burst a sonder the bandes and graspers wherwith ỹ galeyes were fastened togithers. Which done the bridges crashed and flewe asonder, and with the souldiers that stoode vpon them fel into the Sea. There was great cõfukion, for the shippes entangled thus togither. could by no means be gouerned in such a tempest, the souldiers disturbing the feate of the mariners, and the mariners geuyng impediment to the office of the souldiers. Thus as it doth often happen in such case, the expert were obedient to the ignorannt, for the shippe maisters that were wont to commaũde, then for feare of death were dyrected by other. But at length by force of rowyng the galleis recouered the shore, the more parte of them being broken and torne. It chaunsed at the same time. xxx. Embassadours to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed howe the Carthagens were so assayled wyth warre at their owne dores, that they could by no meanes send them succour. In so muche as the Syracusans were burning in Affrike, and had encãped themselues vnder the verie walles of Carthage. The Tyryans yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disapointed of their special truste, but deliuered vnto those Embassadours their wyues and their chyldren to carie vnto Carthage, thiking to endure more stowtly the siege, if the thinges whych were moste deare vnto them, were remoued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian whyche in an open assemble declared that A-

Graspers. Crashed. entangled. disturbinge impediment

polo (whom the Tyrians greatly do worshype) hadde appeared to him in his slepe, seming to him that he had forsaken the Cytie, and transformed the Moole that ỹ Macedons had made, into a great woode. Hereupon though the auctor were of small credite, yet forasmuch as men in feare be apte to beleue the worste, they tied fast Apollos Image wyth a golden cheyne, and boũd fast also the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Cytie was dedicate) thynking by deteining of the one, to kepe still the other. The Carthagens in tymes paste had brought that Image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the hedd Citie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adourne Tyre wyth suche spoiles as they had taken, no lesse then they dyd Carthage it self. They at ỹ time would also haue bene auctoures vnto the Tirias for the renuing of an olde sacrifice that had bene omitted many yeares, whet in they vsed to offre vp to Saturne a fre borne childe. Whiche being rather a sacrilege then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their fyrst founders, & stil obserued the same, till their citie was destroied. And but ỹ the auncient mẽ by whom al thinges were gouerned had wythstand it, thys wicked superstition had taken place, which nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heades, being more effectuall then eny arte or science, practised not onlye suche thinges as were accustomed for defences, but also founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to the deisturbaunce of the shippes that approched the walles, they deuised longe rafters, to the which the fastened graspies of Irõ and great hokes like sithes, which letten downe with ropes by an engyne, either tare the shippes or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targettes of metall to be made fyre hote, in the

whych

whych they put burning sande, & scalding lime, & then poured the same downe vpon the Macedons ẏ came neare the walles, being a mischiefe that they feared moste of all other. For when the hote sande entered betwene the harneis & the body, there was no meanes to auoyde it awaie: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throwe awaye their harneys, and teare awaye all thynges they had vpon their bodies. Thereby they became subiecte to be hurte by their enemies, and were not in case to endomage them againe. But specially the grasples lettē downe (called Corui) toke violently away many of the souldiers ẏ were with in ẏ shyppes. Alexander seyng the obstinate defence of the Tyrians, was wery of the matter, and determined to rayse hys siege, and go vnto Egypt. For considering in howe short a space he had subdued Asia, it greued hym to be deteyned so long about the walles of one citie, whereby he omytted the occasion and opportuntie of greater thynges in the meane season. But he was asmuche ashamed to departe without his purpose, as to remaine there and leaue other thyngs vndone: iudgyng that if he should leue Tyre after that sorte, as a wytnes that he myght be withstand, it should much impaire his fame, wherewyth he had gotten more then wyth force. And it chaūsed at the same tyme a monster of an exceedyng bignes to appeare aswell in the syghte of the Tyrians as the Macedōs, which lyeng vpō his back aboue the water came towardes ẏ Moole, and when he had beaten ẏ water and lyfted vp hym selfe at the head of the Moole, diued vnder the water againe, somtime appearing aboue & somtime hiding him selfe vnderneath, whē he came neare the walles of the Citye vanyshed oute of

When men be in extremitie vnto Iunoo, they forget all the mischiefe that were ran to before, to helpe them selues.

syghte. The sygh̄t of this monster reioysed bothe parties, the Macedons enterpretyng the same to be sent them as a guide for their direcciō to furnisshe out the worcke, and the Tyrias deuining that Neptune in reuenging the vsurpacion that the Macedos had made vpon the sea, woulde shortely destroye the worcke that they had made, in such lyke sorte as he had taken away the monster. They vpon their owne imagination, conceiued suche a gladnes, and pronosticated to them selues such good fortune, that they fel to banquetyng and drinkyng. And when they were well charged with wine, at the sunne rising thei set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into their galleis, not only with hope of victory, but with a triumphe made before hand. It chaunsed at the same time that Alexāder had conueyed his nauie to the contrary side of the Citie, and lefte vpon the shore. xxx. of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the rest in daunger of destressing, vntyll suche tyme as the kynge hearing the alarome, sette forwardes with hys nauye towardes that part where the skrye was heard. The firste Galeye of the Macedons that came nere them was a quinquereme, the swyftest of all the reste, whyche when the Tirians espied, they came agaynste her wyth two galeies crosse vpon her side: wherof the one strake ful with her Spurne, with whō the cinquereme graspeled, & the other which was loose and at libertie fell vpon her contrarye syde. But leste betwixt thē two she might sustayne some domage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the rescue wyth suche violence, that the maister of the loose galey was stryken into the sea. Whē the Tyrians sawe Alexander was come hym selfe, and more of hys shyppes at hande, then

vsurpation

pronosticated

then with ſtrength of ooze and great difficultie, they ſet their galeye that was entangled loſe againe and at libertie, makyng towardes their hauen wyth all the haſt thei might. Alexander immediatly purſued them, but when he came to the hauen he coulde not enter, but was beaten of with ſhot from the walles, yet he did take and drowne the more parte of their galeyes. After this aduenture he reſted his ſouldiers two daies and then willed his ſhyppes to be brought forwardes and the engines in them, to the intent that bi aſſailyng the Tirias on al ſides, he might put them in extreame feare. Alexander with a wonderful courage not without great perill vnto his perſone, mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a ſhyppe, and there knowen by his apparaile and riche armour, was chiefly layde at, and ſhot to from all partes. He wroughte wonderfull feates with hys owne perſone, for bothe with his pike he ſlewe diuers that ſtode at defence, and afterwardes fought hande to hande with hys ſworde and hys target throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the towre wherein he fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that time the engines called Arietes wyth muche beating hadde ſtriken downe the walles, the naule was gote within the hauen, a certeyne of the Macedons hadwonne the towres. The Tyrians then oppreſſed with ſo many miſeries at once were cleane diſcõfited: Some fled for ſuccour vntoy tẽples, ſome did ſhut their dores, takyng that kynde of death they lyked beſte. And other ran vpon their enemis to ſell their liues dere. But ỹ more part gote vp into ỹ toppes of their houſes, and frõ thẽce did caſt downe vpõ their enemies, whatſoeuer came vnto their hãdes. Alexãder commaunded

The wynning of Tyre.

cõmaũded al to be slaine wout exceptiõ, sauing such as fled into ỹ temples, & willed the houses to be set on fier Though that were proclaymed throughout the Citye, yet there was none bearing armour that woulde saue them selues that way. For as the women and chyldren filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, redie to abide ỹ crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were ỹ occasiõ that many were saued who seruing in the warres amonges the Macedons and entering the Citye wyth the reste, were myndfull of their affinitie wyth the Tyrians (Agenour beyng builder of both their Cityes) and conueyed many into their shippes, whyche they sent priuely vnto Sydone. By that meanes fiftene thousande escaped the crueltie of the sword. The nombre of them that were slaine may partely be coniectured, in that there were founde dead within the Citye six thousande of suche as bare armour. The kynges wrathe towardes the Citye made the syght dolerous vnto the victorers. For two thousande whom the furye of the slaughter had lefte on liue, were afterwardes hanged vpon crosses along the sea coaste. The Embassadours of the Carthagens were saued, but he thretened to make warre agaynst them, from the whyche he was then letted by other busines he hadde in hande. Thus Tyre was taken the .vii. moneth after it was besieged, a Citye notable to the posteritie, aswell through the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffred. It was buylded by Agenour, and manye yeres was maister of the seas, not only neare thereabout, but in al places where as their nauies came. And if we lyste to credite the fame, that Citye was the firste whyche either taught or learned letters. They buylded

Agenour.

A notable reuenge the breache of the lawe of armes.

The tyrians' the first that learned, or taught letters.

buylded Cities and put in them inhabitours through out the more partes of the worlde, bothe Carthago in Affryke, Thebes in Boecia, and Gades in Spayne vpon the Occean. It is to be thought that by reason of their free recourse through all seas, and by visyting of many straunge coūtries, they had occasion to choise out Seates to place in their youthe, wherof they then habounded. Or els as some write the inhabitours were ried to dwell their by reason of many earthequakes, were compelled of force to seke out straunge dwelling places. But after manie casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newely renued, and all things growen againe through long peace, remaineth nowe vnder the defence of the Romaines Clemency. About the same tyme Alexāder receiued letters from Darius, wherein at laste he was contented to name him kyng. Hys requeste was that Alexander woulde receyue his doughter Saptyne for his wife, wyth whō he offred in dowre all the coūtrey betwene Hellespōt and the Riuer of Alys, and woulde reserue vnto hym selfe onlye suche kyngdomes, as laye from thence Eastwarde. And if peraduenture he should sticke to receyue this offre, he willed hym to consider that fortune is not wounte to continewe longe in one estate, and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuie dothe folowe them. It was to be doubted (he sayed) leste he exalted him selfe through some vayne & childishe affection, lyke as bydes vse to do, whose natural lightnes conuey them to the starres. For there was nothing more difficultye in so yong yeares, then to beare well such height and greatnes of fortune. He willed hym also to consider that there remayned yet many countreis that he had not touched, and that he

The contentes of Darius letters.

The more felicitie, the more enuye.

should not alwayes mete him in streightes, hauing to passe the Riuers of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, and Hidaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominiō, & when that he should come vnto the plaines he shuld be ashamed of his smalle nombre. He put him in remēbraunce to weye howe longe it should be or he coulde passe Media, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians, that bordered on the Occian Sea. And likewise the Sogdians and Arachosians of whom mē haue none other knowledge thē of their name, with other nacions lyng towardes the mount Caucasus, and the Ryuer of Tanays. Though no man should let hym nor offer hym battaile, yet he shoulde growe in age (he sayed) before he could passe so many landes. In the latter ende he aduysed hym to call hym no more forwardes, for he woulde come sone inough, and that to his destruction. Alexander made aunswere to those letters by the messengers that brought them in effect: that Darius offred to hym that was none of hys owne, and made a proffer to geue that he had al readie loste. For Lidia Ionia, Aeolides, and the coaste of Hellespont, whiche he appointed in dowre, were already become the rewardes of his victory. And as for lawes & condicions those were wont to be geuen and appoynted by the victours, & receiued of such as were ouercome. And if he were ignorant in which of those two estates he were in, that he shoulde come of and aduenture the battaile once againe. For he was not ignorant (he sayed) before he passed the Sea howe Lidia, and Cilicia, were ouer small rewardes, for the making of such a warre. But his determination was euer to subdue and bring vnder his subiectiō, both Persepolis the chiefe citie of his kyngdome, and also Bactria, and Echatania, vnto the

The effect of Darius aunswere.

A lyke answere vnto Darius.

the vttermoſte boundes of the Orient. He could ſe no where but he was able to folowe. and therefore counſailed him that he ſhuld leaue to feare him with riuers, which had learned how to paſſe ſeas. Thus the kinges did write one to an other: & in the meane ſeaſon ỹ Rhodians yelded their citye and their hauen vnto Alexander, who cõmitted the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the coũtrey about Tyre vnto Philotas, Andromachus was mad Permenio his deputy in Caele Syria. From whence Alexander mynding to ſet forwardes to the reſte of his tourney, cõmaunded Epheſtion that wyth hys nauye he ſhoulde ſaile a longe the coaſte of Phenices, and ſo he came wyth hys whole power to the citie of Gaza. About the ſame time there were ſolẽpne triumphes & plaies at Iſthmos, accuſtomed to be celebrated with the aſſemble of all Greace. In ỹ counſel, as ỹ wittes of ỹ Grekes be ſodeine, decreed to ſend yll. Embaſſadours vnto Alexander for the carryng vnto him a croune of gold, in gratefyng ỹ victory he had won, & the actes he had done for the ſaufegard & libertie of Greace, & yet a little before they harkened how ỹ fame went, & were redy to bend ỹ way that fortune enclined. Alexãder viſited not in perſon al ſuch coũtreis & cities as refuſed to do their obedience vnto him, but made conqueſt of them by his deputes. For Cales toke Paphlagõia, Antigonus Licaonia, & Balacrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenaũt, and wan Miletum. Amphitous & Egdochus wt a nauie of a hũdred & .lx. ſhyppes ſubdued al the Ilandes betwene Aſia and Achaia. And alſo by the conſente of the inhabiters gote Tenedon, which alwaies was a receptacle to the Perſians. They were at the poinct to haue gotten Scio

but

Men bend them ſelues, that waie that fortune enclineth.

(Receptacle

but that Pharnabasus Darius deputie hauing intelligence of the matter, dyd fyrste apprehende all suche as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the citye with a smal guarrison to Appollodines and Athenagoras that were enclined to the Persians. Alexanders captaines for al this continued the siege of the citie still, not so much in truste of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they hadde wythin the Citye. In whiche poinct they were not deceiued, for through a sedicion whiche dyd aryse betwene Apollodines and the captaines of the men of warre occasion was ministred vnto the Macedons to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, then the cytisens whyche before hadde deuised to rebell agaynste the Persians, toke parte wyth Amphiterus and Egilochus, so ỹ the guarison of the Persians were slayne, and Pharnabasus wyth Apollodines and Anathogoras taken prisoners. There were .xii. galaies taken wyth their souldiers and rowers, besides .xxx. shippes and vessels of Pirates, with thre thousand Grekes that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Grekes furnished vp their owne bandes, and put the pyrates to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne galeis. It chaunsed that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methyna ignorante of eny suche matter as was chaunsed in the fore parte of the night, came with certayne piraters shippes to enter into the hauen, whō when the watch demaūded what he was, he saied: he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. Thei aūswered he was at reste and could not thē be spoken wt al but it shuld be lawful for him (they said) being their frend to enter into the hauē for ỹ night, & speake with him whē it was day. Aristonicus

Scio taken.

Aristonicus

cus was the fyrste that entred, and the pirates folowed him. But whiles they placed their shippes, the watchemen drewe the chayne againe ouer the hauen, and thē called vp such as lay there neare about, so that none of them durst resist, but wēre al takē prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilochus. Frō thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene whiche was kepte by Chares of Athens with guarison of two thousande Persiās: but when he was not able to endure ỳ siege he yelded vp the Citye with composicion to haue their liues saued, and to departe in sauegard vnto Imbros, Darius dispairyng of peace, whiche he had procured both by his letters and Embassadours, gaue his mind to assemble a newe power, and freshely to renue the warre. Therefore he cōmaunded the Capitaines and rulers of hys men to assemble at Babilon, & that Bessus gouernour of the Bactriās, should come thether wᵗ al the power he coulde make. The Bactriās be the most hardyst people emōges those nacions vnciuil mē, & much abhorring frō the delicatenes of the Persiās. For by reasō ỳ they border vpō the Scithians whiche be a warlicke nacion, they are accustomed to lyue by theefte, and be conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspect of treason that he would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubte: Who hauing an inckling that he aspyred to be kyng, feared only his treason, hauing no other way to bring hys purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the waies he could to obteine knowledge where Darius was become, and into what coūtrey he was gone And yet could not get eny intelligence by reason of a custome emonges the Persians, whyche are wont wᵗ a maruelous fidelitie to kepe close their princes secretes:

Mytelene.

Composicion

Imbros.

Bactrians

Inkling.

The vertue of fayth found emonge the Persians.

cretes: in the vttering wherof neither feare of death, nor hope of reward can cause them bring forth a word. This was a goodly discipline that the kinges there had of olde time vsed emõges their subiectes, in punishing with losse of life the lasciuesnes of the tounge, which is there more greuously chastysed then eny other cryme. Nor ther is not in those partes eny goodnes loked for at eny mans handes, that hath not the gifte of secretnes, wherof nature hath geuen a facilitye in mã. Thys was the cause that Alexander was ignorannte of all thinges that his enemies did, and therefore cõtinued hys siege before Gaza. Betys was Captayne there, who was a man of a notable fidelitie towardes hys prince, whych with a small guarison defended the Cytie that was of a large compasse. Wherefore Alexander perceyuing the aduantage of the Scituacion, set many mynes in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made ỹ worcke easye, hauing neyther rockes nor stones to giue eny impediment. They began their mines on that side, where thei within could not destroy them. And to auoyde the suspection of eny such worke in hande, caused an approche to be made to the walles wyth towers that he hadde made of tymbre. But the ground woulde not serue for their carryng and remouing, by reason of the losenes of the sande, wherinto the wheles sonke, and was ỹ cause that the ioyntes of the towers brake a sonder. About the conueyaunce of them many were hurte, and as muche trouble they hadde in wythdrawynge of them, as in setting them forwardes. When he perceyued he could not preuaile bi that meanes, he retired againe his mẽ for that time. But the next day he enuironed the Citye round about to giue the assaulte in euerie parte at once and before he

The lasciuesnes of the tounge punyshed with the perciãs

Similitudo

The Siege of Gaza.

he returned out of hys campe, made sacrifice after his countrey maner, requiring the aide of the goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing, that a Rauen flieng by, let falle a clodde (which she caried in her clawes) vpon the kings heade, where it brake & resolued in peaces. And the Rauen flewe vnto ỳ next towre, wher her fethers were so entangled with pitche at her lyting, that she could not flie away, but was taken of ỳ standers theraboutes. This was thought a matter worthye whereupon the deuyners shoulde consulte, for he himselfe was not free from the superstition of suche thynges. Therfore Aristander to whom he gaue moste credyte, dyd interprete the same to be a signe of the distruction of that Cytie, but yet there was some peril (he said) appearing towardes the kinges person, for which cause he perswaded Alexãder that he should not go aboute enye enterprise that daye.

Thoughe it greued hym much that one Cytie shoulde be a staye and impediment vnto him for hys free passage into Egipt, yet he obeied the pronosticatoure caused all hys men to retyre. The enemyes toke courage of their departure, and thinkinge feare to haue bene the cause whie they came not forwardes, sayled out of the Cytie and set vpon their tayle. But they were more fierse in the beginnyng of the skyrmishe, then constant in mayntayning of the same. For when thei sawe the Macedons turne about, thei stayed and pursued no further. Alexander hearing, the alarum, and remembring nothing the peril that was prophesyed vnto him, at his frendes requeste put on his harneys (which he was seldome accustumed to do) and resorted thither where the skyrmishe was most hote. There he was knowen by a certeyne Arabian that was one

of

of Darius souldiers, whiche toke vpon hym a desper-
ate enterpryse too kylle Alexander, and therefore
makynge hys pretence to be as a fugitiue from the
Persians, kept his sword secret vndernethe hys tar-
get, and fell downe on his knees before him. Who
iudging that he had fled to hym for succoure, willed him
to be receiued emonges his owne men. But the Arra-
bian therwithall strake at ꝑ king with his sword, which
he by a little steppynge aside, auoyded from hys throte
and cutte of the Arabians hande that missed of hys
stroke. Alexander then iudged that he had cleane es-
caped the perill that should haue chaunsed to him that
daie, but (as I thincke) destenye can not be auoyded:
for whiles he was eger to fight emonges the formoste,
he was striken with an arrowe, which passed throughe
his Corselet and did sticke in his shoulder. Philip hys
Phisicion did plucke it out, and great haboundaūce of
bloud did folowe, wherof euery man was afraied, for
so much as they neuer sawe an arrowe passe so farre
through eny armoure before. But he neuer chaunged
countenaunce nor couller, but causing the bloud to be
stanched and hys wound to be wrapt vp, continued stil
in the skyrmishe emonges the foremoste, either suf-
fring or dissimbling his paine and dolour. But whē ꝑ
bloude that was staied for the tyme braste out agayne,
and the wound which for the newnes greued hym not
much, beganne to swele and rancle as the bloud waxed
colde, then he beganne to faynte and fall downe, and
was taken vp by suche as were nert hym, and caryed
into his tent. Betis that perceyued thys, supposyng
hym to beslayne, retyred vnto the Citye againe with
greate ioye and triumphe. But Alexanders wounde
beyng yet vnhealed he caused a mounte to be caste vp

as

as highe as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a countermure as highe as the olde wall, yet that coulde not stretche to the heyghte of the towres made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of the citie were subiecte to shotte. But a myne whereat the wal was ouerthrowne, & a breache made wherevp the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the towne, where as Alexander pressinge on emonges the foremost aduēturously, had his legge hurt with a stone. That notwithstanding he mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wounde yet vnclosed) and foughte emonges the formoste, beinge in a greate furye, that in ỳ siege of ỳ one Citie, he had receyued two woundes, Betis that had foughte notably and receiued diueres hurtes, was forsakē of his owne mē, & yet not withstādyng maintayned still the fyght, and hadde all hys armoure embrued wyth hys owne bloude and hys enemies. But when he was enclosed round aboute, then Alexander which was wount to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, pufft vp with a ioyfull pride, saide vnto him: Betis thou shalte not die as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer tormētes may be inuēted, thincke that thou shalt suffer thē. For al his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld the king with an arrogant countenaunce, and would not aunswere hym one worde. Then Alexander sayde: se you not howe obstinate he is to hold his peace, he would not knele, nor once desire mercye. But groning shall breake hys silence. if nothinge els can do it. Thus his fortune alteringe hys nature, chaunged hym into straunge maners, & tourned his wrath into woodnes. For he causyng cordes to be put through Beatis feate

Countermure

The winning of Gaza.

Alexander wounded 2. tymes in the siege of Gaza.

Embrued

Prosperous fortune, maketh Alexander cruell, and altereth his nature.

The death of Betis

whyles

whiles he was lyue dyd drawe hym aboute the Citye with horses, glorying that he did counterfeit Achilles (of whom he was descended) in afflicting of hys enymye. There were slaine of the Persians and Arabiās ten thousand, and the victorie was not vnbloudy vnto the Macedones. This siege was not so famous through ỳ nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daūgier the kynge was in: Whyche makyng haste to passe into Egypt sent Amintas wyth ten Galies into Macedon, to leuie more souldiers. For though he were alwayes victorious in prosperous battailes, yet hys mē were deminished, and he trusted not so muche to the souldiers of those countries he had subdued, as he dyd to hys owne nacion. Egyptians be a people that alwaies were offēded with thencrease and good fortune of the Persians, who in their gouernemēt ouer them, vsed much pride and couetousnes. And therefore seking all occasions to reuolte, had receyued Amyntas which came to them rather by waie of treaty then by eny force, nowe specially at Alexanders commyng plucked vp ther sprightes, and assembled a great nombre to mete him at Pelusiū where thei iudged he would enter. The. vii. daye he remoued from Gaza, he came to that place in Egipte whiche nowe is called Alexanders campe, from whence he sent hys armye vnto Peluzium by the land way, and he him selfe wyth a choise band of mē was conueyed thether vpon the Ryuer of Nile. The Persians durste not abide his commyng, being in doubt that the Egiptians would reuolte. And therefore when Alexander drewe nere vnto Memphis where Astaces Darius liuetenaunt was wyth a powre of men of warre, he came ouer the Ryuer to mete Alexander, and yealdinge hym selfe, delyuered him

Egyptyans.

Reuolte.

Alexander entered into Egipte.

Memphys

hym. viii. C. talentes, wyth all the ryches belonging to the kynge of Perse. From Memphis he passed vpon the same Riuer vnto the inwarde partes of Egipt, and set a state and order in the gouernement of the cõtrey in such sort, that he chaunged nothynge of theyr lawes and customes. Which thinge once brought to passe, he had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Iupiter Hãmon. But it was declared vnto him that the waye he hadde to go was not passable wyth eny great numbre, and that those ought to be lighte, and trimmed mete to iourney wythout baggage or much cariage. The cõtrey he had to trauaile throughe was sayde to be spread ouer al with barreine sand, which once put in an heate with the sunne, woulde burne their feete in suche sort, that it should be intollerable for them to iourney. And had to contend not onely wyth the heate and wante of water, but also wyth the rowlynge sande, whyche was so deape, and woulde so sinke vnder their feete, that it shoulde be great impediment vnto their trauayle. All whyche difficulties the Egiptians set forth to be greater then they were in deade. But Alexãder for the desyre he had to excede mans estate, was so feruently bẽt to visite that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whom eyther he beleued, or coueted that other shoulde beleue to be his father, that nothyng could state him in performing of that enterpryse. Therefore wyth suche as he had appoynted to accompanye him in that iourney, passed by water vpon Nile til he came to the Meare of Meotes. The Embassadours of the Cirenãs came to him thither & brought him presentes, whome he gently entertained, assuring thẽ of his frendshyp. And ỹ done went forwardes in his voiage. The first & the seconde dayes trauaile seamed tollerable, not beinge yet come to the

Prosperitie maketh a man to forget, from whence he came.

The Cyrenians.

Intollerable.

Tollerable

barreine & wild wildernes, & yet the groūd they passed on was but vnfruteful and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer wyth deape sand, they then loked and sought a farre of wyth their eyes for the land, euē as men be accustomed to do whē they saile in the mayne Sea. For they could not iudge them selues on lande, where they neuer sawe tree nor eny appearāce of habitacion or haūt of men. And water ther was none to be foūd in that drye and burning sand, and such as they had brought with thē in bottels vpon camelles backes, was consumed and spent. Besides the sunne was so hotter that it dried and burned vp all thynges. When they were afflicted after thys maner, whither it were by the wil of god or by chaunce the clowdes sodenly ouer welmed the skye, and so shadowed them that it was great cōfort to suche as were forweried with the heate, thoughe they wanted water to drynke. But to supplie their lacke therein ther fel by and by a great shoure which euery man (for the greate desire they had to drinke) gaped to receyue wyth open mouth. Whē they had trauelled four daies in passing of these wilde desertes, and were come neare vnto the place of the Oracle, there appeared a great swarme of Crowes flyynge lowe before the troupe, and when the hoste marched softly they sat downe vpon the ground, and sometyme flewe forwardes, as they had bene guides to shewe vnto tharmye the waye. At length they came vnto the place consecrate vnto Jupiter, where as it was a wōder to se in the myddes of so wyld a desert such a groūd so enuironed on al partes with highe trees defending the heate of the sunne, & suche a nūbre of springes rūning euery where, which cause the woodes alwaies to loke greane. The ayer there al seasons

of

of the yeare is like vnto the spring tyme, holesome and temperate to liue in. This countrey doth bozder with the Ethiopes towardes the Este, and vpō the Arabies that they cal Troglodites vpō the south: whose countrey stretcheth to the red sea. It confineth wyth other Ethiopes that he called Simnos. Towardes ỹ nozth lieth a nacion called Nasamōs, who inhabitinge vpon a flat shoze, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of the sea, & lye alwaies in a wayte vpon the coste to spoyle such shyps as suffre wracke. The people whych inhabite about the woode, be called Hammon, & dwel in cotagies scatered abzode. The middes of their woode closed about with a treble wall, is vnto theim as a Castle. In the fyrst ward is the Palaice of their auncient kinges, in the seconde their wyues, childzen, and concubines were lodged, in whyche place the Ozacle of Jupiter is is also. And the third is a place appointed foz the mē of war. There is also an other wood hauing in the middes a spzinge called the fountaine of the sonne whych in the mozning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is colde, and in the euentinge warme againe: so that at mydnight it is scaldinge hoote, and as it dzaweth towardes daye, it deminisheth his heate moze and moze. The same thinge that is wozshipped foz, Jupiter hath not the simslitude of other Jmages that crafftes men do make foz goddes, but is very like vnto the fashiō of a nauel, hauing in the middes an Emeraude set about with pearles. Whē eny aūswere is required, ỹ prieses carye the same in a shyp of gold, ỹ hath manye plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The matrones & the virgines folowe after singinge a rude songe after their countrey maner, wherby they beleue to obteyne of Jupiter to shewe his Ozacle manifest and true. When

Wholesome and temperate.

Ethiopes.

Confineth

The discripcion of the Iooll.

Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldeste of the prieſtes whyche came to mete hym ſaluted hym by the name of Iupiters ſonne: whoſe mynde (he ſayd) was, ỹ he ſhould ſo be called. Wherupõ Alexander forgetting the ſtate of his mortalitie, ſaid: that he both did receyue & acknowledge ỹ name. Then he demaunded further, if thempire of the whole worlde were appoynted to hym by deſtinie. There the prophet prepared before to flat-
The flatte-ry of the pro-phetes. tery, aunſwered: that the whole worlde ſhoulde come vnder hys obeyſaunce. After that he demaunded whether all ſuche had ſuffered death that murthered hys father. The prieſte aunſwered, that hys father coulde not be harmed by the treaſon of eny man, but he ſayde: that all Phillipes kyllers were put to death. And one thynge he added more: that he ſhould be inuincible tyll ſuche time as he ſhoulde departe to the goddes. Therevpon Alexander made ſacrifice, and both offered vnto the Idole, and gaue greate giftes vnto the prieſtes. He licenſed alſo hys frendes that they myght conſulte of the Oracle, for ſuch thynges as they woulde demaũd. Yet they enquyred no further: but if it were Iupiter his wil, that they ſhoulde worſhyp theyr kynge wyth deuine honours. To them it was aunſwered: that if they honoured their prince being victorer as a god, it ſhuld
A digreſſion be acceptable vnto Iupiter. If he had wyth iudgemẽt wayed the Oracle accordinge to the veritie, he ſhoulde well haue perceyued the vntruthe that was therein: but whome fortune hath brought to beleaue in her, ſhe maketh them many times more deſirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not only ſuffered, but alſo commaunded him ſelfe to be called the ſonne of Iupiter, and whyles he wente aboute to encreaſe the fame of hys actes, he dyd corrupt and deface them throughe

ſuche

ſuch vaine titles. Whereby the Macedõs accuſtomed to be gouerned by kynges, but yet reſeruing a greater ſhadowe of libertie then other nacions, did withſtand him more arrogantly in affecting of hys immortalitie, then was eyther expediente for hym or them: but theſe thinges ſhalbe declared in tyme conuenient, for now I wil procede in the reſt of his doinges. When Alexander was returned from Hamon and come to the mariſſe of Mareotes ſcituate neare vnto the Ile of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the firſt determined to build a Citie within the Ilande. But afterwardes cõſidering the Ile not to be large inough, choſe out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) conteyning al that ground betwen the Meare & the ſea, the whych was in cõpaſſe as the walles went. lxxx. furlonges. When he had take order for building of this Citie, leuing ſuch behind him as he had appointed for the performãce therof, departed vnto Memphis. He had a deſire (not vnreaſonable if it had ben in time cõuenient) to haue viſited both the inwarde partes of Egipt, & alſo Ethiopia. And ỳ affectiõ he had to viewe antiquities, & the famous palaces of Memnon and Titon, had neare drawẽ him beyond the boundes of the ſunne. But the warres he had in hande being of much more momẽt thẽ eny ſuche idle peregrinacion, gaue him no time to fulfil hys fantaſie. Therfore he appointed Aeſtilus a Rodyan, and Peuceſtes a Macedõ to the gouernãce of Egipt, aſſigning to thẽ xii. thouſande ſouldiers for defence of ỳ region, and gaue Boleman .xxx. galeis to kepe the mouthe of Nile. He made Apollonius ruler of that part of Affrik which ioyneth vnto Egipte, and Cliomenes receiuer of the tributes in both countreis. Thys newe Citye was ſone

The buſ-
dings of Alex
andria.

Alexander
buyldeth the
citie of
Alexandria.

Memnon
Tyton

Peregrination

Aeſtilus.
Peuceſtes.

Cliomenes

replenished wyth a greate multitude, for commaundement was geuen to all the Cities theraboutes, to send inhabiters vnto Alexandria. It is saide that when the kynge accordynge to the Macedons custome vsed the ceremony of steaping backye, at the making of the walles, that the birdes came & fed therevpon: which beyng taken of many for an vnlucky token: it was aūswered by there deuiners, ỹ their shuld be great resort of straūgers to that citie, and that it should giue norishment to many landes. As the king wēt downe the riuer of Nile, Hector Parmenios his sonne desierous to folow him was drowned for the vessel sonke ỹ caried him, beinge pestred with ouer many men. He strined long wyth the streame, but his garmentes gaue impedimente to hys swimminge, so ỹ his breath was neare gone before he could recouer the shore, where for want of succoure he died. Whose vnfortunate chaunce Alexander toke greuously, as one ỹ did beare him special fauour, and therfore caused his bodye to be honorablye buried. The death of Andromachus lieutenaūt of Siria, whom the Samaritās had burned, was encrease of Alexanders sorow, for the reuengment wherof, he made al the haste he might, and at his cōming into Samaria, hadde the auctours of the acte deliuered into hys handes, whom he put to death, & then placed Memnon in Andromachus rowme. He deliuered into the Methimitās hādes Aristonicus, and Crisolaus, that had vsurped emonges thē, whom they after many greuous tormētes did hāg ouer their walles. That done he gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Athenies, the Rhodians, and the Sciottes. The Athenians did gratelye vnto hym hys victory, and required that such Greakes as were takē pisoners, myght be restored to libertie. The Rhodiās and

The Ryuer of Nile.

The death of Hector Parmenios sonne

Andromachus burned by the Samaritans.

Methimiās.

and the Sciotes demaunded assistaūce of some guarrison: he graunted to them all their requestes, and restoryng to the Mythelens al their pledges, encreased their territorie and dominion in respecte of the fidelitie they shewed vnto him and the money that they had employed in the warres. He gaue honoure also accordyng to their deseruinges vnto the kinges of Cipres, whych reuolted from Darius vnto him and had ayded him with shippes at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his admiral had cōmission to dryue the Persians out of the Isle of Crete but specially that he shuld rid the seas of the pirates, which troubled and spoiled al the Ilandes, whiles these two princes conuerted their powers one against another. When he had geuen order to al these thinges, he dyd dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a greate stādyng peace and .xxx. bowles of gould. That done he set his whole mind and care vpō Darius, causing it to be proclaimed that euery man shuld set forwardes towardes Euphrates. But Darius vnderstandyng that his enemy was gone through Egipt into Affrick, stode in doubt whether he shuld stay about Mesopotamia, or withdrawe into the inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that he shoulde be hable to worcke wyth those farre nacions in bringinge of theym forwardes to the warres, that his lieuetenanut shuld not be able to do. Yet whē the fame had published, and he vnderstode by assured aduertisment that Alexander was retourned out of Egipt and fully resolued to folowe him with all his power into what countrey soeuer he shuld go: he then gaue order that the force of all the farre nacions shuld drawe towardes Babilon, knowing ỹ stoutnes of his enemy he had to match withal. Thither resorted bothe Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians, for the

Territorie

Alexander & Darius prepared to fight another battel.

power of other coũtreis were come thether before. And hauyng the double numbre of mẽ that he had before in Cilicia, prepared armoure for theym wyth diligence, wherof many of them had want. Both the horsemen and the horses were armed with plates of stele. Such as before had no weapons but dartes, had swordes and bucklers geuen to them more. And to encrease the power of his horsmẽ, he deliuered many horses to be broken emonges the fotemen. He had prepared also. CC. wagons set with hokes, which in those countreis were esteamed things of great force, and iudged to be a wonderfull terrour to the enemye: they were made wyth great long pikes sticking out before, and with swordes set ouerwhart on both sydes. The wheales were also ful of Iron pikes ryght forth, and of great hokes both vpwarde and downewarde, wherewith al thynge was cut a sondre that came in theyr waye. When hys people were thus furnished of armoure, and had prouided sufficiently for the warres, he remoued from Babilon, and keppynge the ryuer of Tygre on his ryghte hand, and Euphrates on his left hand, ouerspredde wyth his armye all the playnes of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tigre, and vnderstanding that his enemie was comminge at hand, first sent Satrapaces before with a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwardes appointed syre thousand to Mazeus to stop Alexãder the passage of the Riuer. Who had also in commissiõ to waste and burne al the countrey where he iudged that hys enemies should come thynkinge to famyshe theym for wante of victualles, considerynge that they had no other prouision but such as they gote by rauyne, and by stealthe: they themselues hauyng plenty brought them both by lande and by the ryuer of Tigre. At lengthe he

Tygre Euphrates.

Satrapaces

Mazeus

he came vnto a village called Arbella, whiche was af- Arbella.
terwardes famous by reason of his ouerthrowe.
There he lefte the chiefe furniture of his victualles,
and cariage, and made a bridge ouer the Riuer of Li- Licus.
cus, and in fiue dayes conueyed ouer his armye, as he
had done before ouer Euphrates: passyng forwardes
from thence about four score furlonges. He came vn-
to an other riuer called Boumello, & there encamped. Boumello.
The countrey serued wonderfull well, for the arran-
gyng of his battailes in the large playnes, passable for
horses euerye where, and without stubbes, or shorte
brushe to couer the grounde withall, hauyng so free a
prospect, þ the eye might deserne thinges a great waye
of. And if there appeared eny hilles within the plaine, Thys is not frant
Darius caused the same to be caste downe, and the credible, tyght
grounde to be made smothe. Suche as by coniecture þ Enye and
made report to Alexander of Darius power, coulde not Nemis shoulde
be credited, for he could not thinke after so many slaine ponysshe not
there coulde be a greater power gathered together, thē onlie famous
he hadde before. But he that neuer doubted eny peryll, Enymed, but
and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuēth also the mem-
encampyng came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the bre.
whiche he made bridges, passyng ouer his horsemen,
and afterwardes his fotemen. For Mazeus that was
sente againste him with fiue thousand horsemen to let
his passage, durste not encounter with him. When he
had continued there a fewe dayes, not onely to rest his
souldiours, but also to confirme their myndes, and to
encourage them, he set forwardes stoutely against his
enemye, fearyng that they woulde haue retired backe
into the inwarde partes of Perce, whether he shoulde
haue bene enforced to folowe by waste places and de-
sertes. Therfore the fourth daye he passed by Arbella,

and

and came vnto the riuer of Tigre. All the coutrey beyond the Riuer was on a smoke newlye sette on fire by Mazeus, who burned all thynges where he came euen as he hadde bene an enemye. Alexander at the firste by reason of the darkenesse of the smoke, stayed for feare of embushementes. But when they whiche were sēt to scoure the countrey, reported that all thing was cleare, he appointed a fewe horsemen to proue the passage of the Riuer, who founde the deapenes at the first enter to come to the horse breaste, and in the middes of the streame to the horse neckes. There is no riuer in all the east partes of the worlde, that runneth so violētly, which besides the waters of other riuers that do runne into it, driueth downe stones vp the streame, so that of his swiftnes it is called Tigre, whiche in the Persian toung is so muche to saye as an arowe. The fotemē therfore deuided into two bandes, holding their armour ouer their heades, were enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and so passed till they came in the deape of the chanell, without eny great difficultye.

The kyng was the firste emonges the footemen that passed ouer to the further syde, who wyth his hande (seyng his voyce coulde not be hearde) shewed the shallowe places vnto the souldiers. But they hadde muche payne to kepe their footyng by reason of stones whereupon they stumbled, and of the violence of the water that toke their feete away. Suche as caried burthens on their backes hadde the greatest trauaile, whiche not beyng able to staye theim selues by reason of the trouble of their cariage, were borne downe by violence of the streame. And whiles euery man went aboute to recouer again his owne, there fel greater strife emonges them.

Embushmente

Tygre in the Persians language, vt an Arowe.

Discencion.

them selues, then they had with the streame. And the heapes of kardelles that fleated euery where vpon the water bare do'one many. The king cried to them that it was sufficiente to kepe their armoure, and lette the rest go, promisyng to recompence euery manne. But they neither folowed his counsaile, nor did as he commaunded thē, for besides the noyse that was emonges them, fear killed their eares as they were swimming & wading through the water. At lēgth where the streame was most shalow they came forth, there being nothing miscaried or wantyng emonges them all, sauynge a fewe kardelles. If their enemies had made but a proffer against theim, they might easilye haue bene put to distresse. But Alexanders continuall good fortune turned then his enemies awaye from him. With whyche fortune he passed the Riuer of Granike, when so manye thousandes bothe of horsemen and fotemen kept the passage against him. After that sorte he ouercame the multitude of his enemies in the streyghtes of Cylicia. Thoughe his boldenes were suche, that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreme peryll. If Mazeus hadde done hys parte, and sette vpon theim as they were passyng the Riuer, he myghte easelye haue putte theim to distresse, beynge vnarmed and oute of order. But after the Macedones hadde armed them selues (beyng then to late) he began to shewe him selfe wyth a thousande horsemen. When Alexander perceiued the small number that came against him, he caused Ariston capitayne of the Peontans to geue a full charge vpon them. The horsemen that day notably behaued theim selues, but in especial Ariston, which with his speare rāne Satrapaces the chefe captaine through the throte, & pursuing

Comforteth & ramsterth men to forget their vntimely boldy to god, & their victory.

Ariston.

him

im into the middes of his trope, threwe him from his
ozse, and cut of his head, whiche to his great commen-
ation, he brought and threwe downe before the kyng.
Alexãder taried there two dayes, and against the moz-
nyng caused warnynge to be geuen by proclamacion
foz his setting forwardes. But in the first watch of the
night, the mone suffred eclips, which losing her bright-
nes, afterwardes became as redde as bloude, & ther-
waxed dimme and darke. The straungnes of this mat-
ter did strike a religious feare emõges the Macedons
wherof proceaded suche a doubte and dreade, that they
fel into a murmure & grudging y they should be brou-
ght forwardes after suche a maner against the will of
the Goddes, into the vttermost boundes of the earth,
where as they were not able to passe the Riuers, noz
could not enioye the accustomed vse of the elementes,
findyng nothinge but waste groundes and wilde de-
sertes: all whiche was done (they sayed) foz the ambici-
on of one man, foz whose vaineglozye the bloude of so
many thousandes shoulde be shedde. He despiseth (qd
they) his countrey, he hath forsaken Philip foz his fa-
ther, and affected heauen in his foolishe imaginacion.
When Alexander perceyued the matter to come to a
mutteryng, he that in all thinges was without feare,
commaunded the chiefe rulers and capitaines of his
men of warre to assemble at his pauilion and there cõ-
maunded the Astronomers of the Egiptians (whom he
iudged to haue moste vnderstandyng of the Planets)
to declare their opinions. They vnderstandyng bery
well the reuolutions of the tyme, and their appointed
courses, knew that the mone did euer eclipse, whẽ that
either she wente vnderneth thearth, oz elles when her
light was blemished by oppositiõ of the sunne, whiche

An Eclips of the mone

Murmure

Murmure

rea-

light was blemished by oppositiõ of the sunne, which reason conceyued emonges them selues, they accustomed not to teache the people. But affirmed that the Greakes were vnder the respecte of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone, and therfore so often as ỹ mone faileth of her light, it signified great destruction to the nacions vnder that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in olde presidentes of the kynges of Perce, to whom the Eclips of the moone had signified that the Goddes were against them in fightyng of their battayles. There is nothing more effectual then superstition to gouerne a multitude, whiche otherwise is without rule, madde, & vntable. But when they haue once cõceiued a religiõ: thoughe it be but vayne, they be more obedient to their deuiners, thẽ to their capitaynes. Whiche thing might be well perceiued, when these aunsweres of the Egipcians were spread abrode emonges the people, for they streightwayes were remoued from their dulnes, and dispayre, and sturred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therfore that coulde vse the time, and employ his souldiours in their good mode: in the second watch remoued his campe, kepyng Tygre on his right hãd, and the mounteynes whiche they call Gordeies on his left hand. By the spring of the day the scourers that he sẽt before to discouer, returned to him wyth reporte that Darius was cõming. Then the souldiers prepared thẽselfes to the fight, & marched forwardes in ordre of battaile. But those ỹ discouered for the Persians, were but a. M. horsemen, whiche kepynge the scoute a farre of, semed to the Macedons to be a great army. The scourers commonly haue that propertie, that when they cannot finde out the trueth, they imagen throughe feare thinges

The force of superstition to gouerne a multitude

Gromeud.

Gronto.

thinges that be false. When Alexander vnderstode the certaintye, he sent out towardes them a small numbre of his owne horsmen: at whose commyng thei fledde, & were partly slayne, and partly taken prisoners. That done, he sent horsemen as well to discouer further, as also to quenche the fire whiche the Persians had made through all the countrey. For as they fledde away, they put fire into the ruffes of their houses, & the stackes of corne, whiche sone toke holde aboue, and consumed all till it came to the grounde. By extinguishyng of those fiers, great plentye of corne was founde, & abundaunce of all other thinges ensued emonges the Macedons. That was a matter whiche encouraged the souldiours greatly to pursue their enemies. For doubting lest thei should burne and consume all suche thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued them with al the speade they could make: wisdome growyng of necessitie. For Mazous whiche before did burne the countrey at leasure, whē he saw him selfe pursued, fled away, & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderstandyng that Darius drew towardes him, & was come within an hundred and fiftye furlonges, made prouision of victualles, and remayned foure dayes in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Greakes, in perswasion either to kyll or betraye Alexander. He doubted whether he shoulde recite the same letters openly or no, hauynge no mistruste of their benevolence and affection towardes him. But Parmenio disswaded the puttyng of eny suche promises into the souldiours heades, cōsideryng that the committyng of suche an acte consisted in one mans hande, & that couetousnes iudged neuer eny thing vnlawful. He folowed Parmenios counsel,

and

and so remoued his campe. As thei were marching, one of the Enukes that attēded vpō Darius wife brought worde how she fainted, & was in great perill of death. For she in verye dede was so wearied with continuall trauayle of her iourney and care of mynde, that she fell downe in a swowne betwixte her mother in lawe, and her yong daughter, & so died. He had not so sone told the tale, but an other came with tidynges that she was dead in dede: wherat Alexāder was no lesse sorowful, then if his owne mother had bene in the same case, and wepyng no lesse then Darius shoulde haue done, repayred into the tent where Darius mother was sittynge by the deade bodye. There his sorowe renued when he sawe her lye prostrate vpō the grounde, who by the chaūce that presently fell, being put in remēbraūce of hir aduersitie by past, embraced in his armes Darius .ii. daughters, a cōfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that she was enforced to comfort thē. Hir yong nephew stode in her presēce, the more to be pitied, because that for his youth, he yet vnderstode not the calamitye that was growyng towardes him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wepte for his owne cause, whiche lamented, and woulde receiue no comforte, but absteyned from meat, & reserued all honour to be done to the dead corse after the coūtrey custome of the Persiās. Worthy he was hereby to receiue the due reward of such his mekenes & continēcy. He had only sene her once before, whiche was the daye of her takynge, and then came not to visite her, but Darius mother. The excellencye of her beautie was no prouokement to him of lust, but of glory. Of those Enukes that were about the quene, there was one Tyriotes, which during this mournyng and lamētation, escaped by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled vnto the Persians campe, where hy:

he was by the watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamentynge and tearyng of his clothes, he was in a wōderfull expectation what his sorow should be, doubtyng what thing he myght feare moste. Thy countenaunce (qd he) declareth that some great mischiefe is happened. Take hede thou cōcealest nothing from my miserable eares. I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is often tymes a comforte of a mans calamitie to knowe his mischappe. Is it not the misusyng of my wife & children that thou wouldest tell me: which is the thing I suspect moste and feare to vtter, and (as I beleue) is more greuous vnto them then eny kinde of torment. Nothing lesse (qd Tiriotes) The same honour ỳ was geuen vnto thē by your subiectes, the like is vsed by him that is victorer. But your wife is the cause of my amasemente, whiche is euen nowe deade. Whē that word was once spoken, there was nothing but lamētatiō & howling out through the campe. And Darius could not be otherwise perswaded but that she was slayne, because she woulde not consent to her misusement, and in the vehemencye of his sorow, cried out. O Alexander, what so great an offence haue I committed againste thee: whom of thy kynred haue I slaine, that thou shouldest requite me with this crueltie: Thou haste done it without enye prouokemente of my parte. But be it so that thou doest moue a iuste warre againste me, yet is it thy parte therfore to kepe warre with women: Tyriotes therupō did sweare by the goddes immortall, that there was no kynde of vilany done vnto her, but ỳ Alexander lamēted her death, & wept no lesse thē he him selfe would haue done. Those wordes did driue him into further suspicion & ielousie, cōiecturing ỳ Alexanders behauour therin, had risen vpon the familier

Darius to Tyriotes.

Darius exclamatiō in his sorow.

familier conuersacion had betwixt them. Therfore he auoyding all persons frō him sauing onely Tyriotes, and left his weping but yet sobbing forsorowe said vnto hym: Thou seeste nowe, Tyriotes that iyes canne take no place. Tormētes streight wais shalbe brought before the. I require the therfore if eny reuerence of thy prynce remayne within thy harte, tel me wythout compulcion the thing that I desire to knowe and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age ỹ he is, and hauing her in his handes, that he should not attempt her. Tyriotes offered him self to be racked in tryall of the cause, and called the gods to wytnes, that she was neuer vsed but chastly & reuerently. At lēgth when he was once persuaded that hys wordes were true, hee couered his face weping a longe space. And afterwardes the teares yet distilling down his chekes, vncouered his face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, said. O you goddes that I do worship, I requyre you cheiflie to establishe this kingdome vnto my selfe. But if ye haue determined my ruyne and decay, then my requeste is that none maie reigne as kynge in my dominion, but euen he that is so iuste an enemy, and so mercifull a victorour. And therfore though he had twise before required peace at Alexander his handes & preuailed not, but had cōuerted al his mind towardes the warres: yet he was thē so ouercome with the continencye of his enemy, that he sent ten of the chiefeste of his bloud as Embassadours to treate with him vpō condicions of peace. Alexander calling a counsel gaue them presence, to whom the eldest spake in thys wise. That Darius hath nowe the thirde tyme demaunded peace of you, no powre hath cōpelled him, but your iustice & cōtinencye hath moued him. He shulde not per-

Distilling

Darius sendeth embassadours vnto Alexander for peace.

The worde of Darius Embassadours.

ceiue ꝑ either his mother, wife, or children were prisoners, sauing for want of their cõpani, you taking care of their chastities whiche remaine on lyue lyke a father, you gyue to them the honoure appartaining, and suffer thẽ to cõtinewe in their former estate. I se that dolorousnes in your face, that I sawe in Darius when I parted from hym, and yet he dothe mourne for hys wife, and you for your enemye. And if the care of her buriall hadde not bene, you hadde nowe stande in batailein redines to fyght. Is it enye maruelle therefore if he require peace of suche one, that is so frendly disposed towardes him? What shall they nede to contende wyth armes, betwene whome there remayneth no hatred. In his former treaties he offred ꝑ the Ryuer of Alys whych boundeth vpon Lydia should be the conkynes of your empire, but nowe he prokereth you in dowre with his doughter to be deliuered out of hand al those countreis that lie betwene Hellespõt and Euphrates. For the performance of whiche his promisse, & for the obseruing of peace, Occhus his sonne nowe in your possession shall be the pledge for hys parte. Hys requeste is to haue his mother, and his two doughters restored vnto hym, for which thre you shal receiue .xxx. thousand Talentes. Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I woulde not be so bold to say that this is a time whẽ you ought not only to graunt peace, but also to seke for it your selfe. Loke backe & behold what a great thing you leaue behind you, & forse howe much it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an empyre is daungerous. And it is harde to hold that you be not able to receiue. Do you not se that those shippes which be of exceading greatnes, that they can not well be gouerned. Iudge that to be the cause that Darius loste

Moderation.

so

so muche, bicause that ouermuche is the occasion of much losse. It is more facill to get many thinges then to kepe a fewe, how much more easlye do our handes catche, then holde styll. The verie deathe of Darius wyfe nowe doth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shewe mercy as you had before. The Embassadoures were remoued vnto an other place, and he debated in counsell hys opynion. It was longe before eny durste vtter what they thought, because they were vncertaine how the king was enclined. At lẽgth Parmenio spake, and saied, my opiniõ was euer that ỹ prisoners taken at Damasco should haue bene deliuered to such as would redeme thẽ, wherby a great sõme of money might haue bene made of them, whych now remaining in captiuitie, pester ỹ hãdes of many a mã of seruice. And nowe I thinke most necessarye of al, ỹ you exchaung for. xxx. talentes of gold, this olde womã and ỹ two yong damosels, which be but impedimẽtes and disturbaunce to you in your tourneis. Here is a riche realme to be gotten by treatye wythout eny hasard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (qd he) ỹ was lord of al ỹ costreys in length & breadth lyng betwene Ister & Euphrates: he wylled hym therfore rather to haue respect towardes Macedonia, thẽ to loke forwardes towardes Bactria & the Indiãs. His wordes liked not ỹ king, & therfore so sone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this answere: And I if I were Parmenio, would rather desire money then glory. But now seing I am Alexander, I am not in eny doubt of pouertie, & haue cõsideration ỹ I am a king, & no marchaunt. I haue nothing wherof I wyll make sale, and much lesse sell my fortune. If I

The great Emmoderate, ran loose notemugs.

More easie to get, then to kepe that we ha gotten. more easie to do rather, then to do. Londo still.

Parmenios opynion cõcerning the raunsõming of prisoners

Pester

Disturbaunce

Of hymes good remembrance was named, & worshipfully of ỹ Latyn tarmed. Ad Ten Parmenio.

were in minde to deliuer the prisoners, it were muche better to geue them freelye, then to raunsome them for money. Hereupon he called in the Embassadours, and answered thē in this sort. Shewe you to Dario that geuing of thankes is but waste to a mans enemy, and let hym not thinke, that I haue had eny respect to his frendship in those thinges that I haue done of mine owne clemency & liberalitie. Nor let him not impute the same in eny wyse towardes hym self, but to the inclination of mine owne nature, and that I contende not against mens calamities, but agaynst the force of mine enemies. I vse not to make warre wyth women and prisoners, for he muste be armed to whome I shall shewe my hatred. And though it were so in dede that he mente good faith in hys peace askynge, yet peraduenture I woulde aduise me before I would consente. But seyng that at sometyme he hath by his letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me, and at other time sturred vp my frendes wyth mony to my destruction: I must pursue him to the vttermoste, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh hys thinges bi treason. If I should accept the condicions of peace that you do bring, I should acknowledge him to be victorious, which liberally doth geue me al that is behinde the ryuer of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speake now vnto you. Haue you forgote that I am passed the ryuer of Euphrates, & encamped beyond the boundes ye proffer me in dowre? driue me from hence that I maye knowe the same to be yours, wherwith ye would infeoffe me. He proffereth me his doughter with no greater liberalitie, then he would do to one of his seruauntes. Dothe he thynke to do me a pleasure in preferring me to be hys sonne in lawe before

Alexanders answere to the Embassadours.

Dominus non Darium sed ex ore.

fore Mazeus: Go and shewe this to your kyng, that both the thing he hath loste, and that he hath yet in possession, shall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, which warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and bi the fortune of ỹ battaile we shal fight to morow, appointed to eche of vs our limittes. Let him knowe that I came not into Asia to receiue, but to geue. If he would haue bene content to be second persone, and not coueted to be equal wt me, I would peraduẽture haue graũted his request. But as two sonnes can not shine on the earth at once, so likewise two such great kingdomes can not be at one time, without ỹ subuersion of ỹ world. Therfore let him either this day yelde him selfe, or els prepare against ỹ morowes fight, nor let hi not parsuad him self to haue other fortune, thẽ he hath proued alreadi. The Embassadours replied: ỹ seing he was resolued to proced wt warre, he did roially in ỹ he was plaine, & did not fode thẽ forth wt hope of peace. Their request was therfore ỹ thei might be dispatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare him selfe likewise. Whẽ thei returned, thei brought word ỹ ther was no way but prepare for ỹ fight. Wherfore Darius sent Mazeus out of hande wt thre thousande horsemen to kepe the passages, whereby ỹ Macedõs should passe. When Alexander hadde performed the funeralles of Darius wife, leuyng wyth a small guarison al such as were vnprofitable for the fyght, within the strength of hys campe, sette forwarde towardes his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailes, empaled with horsemen on both sides, and his cariage went in the myddes. He sente Medinas wyth horsemen vpon the spoores, to discouer where Darius was:

Who comming within the viewe of Mazeus, durste not passe eny further, but brought reporte that he could heare nothing but the noyse of mẽ, and neying of horses. Mazeus likewise discouered them and returned backe to Darius declaring that his enemies were cõming: Then Darius, whose desire was to encounter his enemies in the playne and open fieldes, commaunded his men to be armed and deuided them into two partes, whereof the one marched on the left hand, and the other on the ryght. In the battaile on the left hand a .M. of the Bactrian horsemen hadde the firste place, with the like nõbre of Dahans, and .xii. M. Arachosians and Susians, after which band of horsemẽ there folowed .C. hoked wagons, and behind thẽ Bessus with an other band of .viii. M. Bactrian horsemẽ, & .ii. M. Massagetes. The fotemen of diuers nacõs came next in ordre of battaile, not mixed togither, but eche countreimẽ by them selues. Ariobarzanes & Oribates had the gouerment of the Persians, Mardiãs and Sogdians. But their charge was deuided, & Orsines that was come of the .vii. Persians, & of ỹ bloud of noble king Cyrus had ỹ rule of ỹ whole. Other nations folowed whose names were scarsely knowen to their owne company. Cradatus was the next, whiche hauing also fiftie hoked wagõs, placed a band of Caspian horsemen before them, and behind them the Indians and other the inhabiters of the redde sea: rather names of men then good assistaũce. This square was empaled with fiftie wagons, vnto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyned. After them folowed the men of Armeny the lesse. then the Babilonians, and next the Bellitans with such as inhabite the Cossean mountaynes. The Gortuans came next, which sometyme

The ordre of Darius batayles.

Bessus.

Ariobarzanes.

Cradates.

The Indians, men in memb not in kd.

tyme folowed the Mediãs out of Euboia, but at those dayes degenerated from their countrey customes. The Phrigians, Cathonians, and Parthians, enclosed the tayle. This was the battaile on the left hand. In the battayle on the ryght hand were the people of ỹ greater Armenur, ỹ Caduciãs, Capadociãs, Siriãs and Medians, who had fiftyhoked wagons. The some of his whole army was. xlb. M. horsemẽ, &. CC. thousand footemẽ. When they were placed in ordre of battayle, they marched forwardes ten furlõges, and then were commaunded to stay. Whiles the Perciãs after that maner taried for their enemies, there fell a sodein feare emonges the Macedons: wherof their appeared no cause, & yet euery mã was amased, & a secrete dread entred into their hartes. The lightening ỹ fell out of the ayer being in the somer season semed like fier, and the flames sodainly appearing, were thought to come from Darius campe. Ik Mazeus whiche was sent to obserue their comming, had set vpon them whiles they were in this feare, he might haue done thẽ some notable domage. But he was slack to do his enterprice, & remained vpon the toppe of an hill, cõtented that he was not assailed. Alexãder perceiuing ỹ terrour that was come emonges his mẽ, made a signe for them to staye, and gaue ordre that they should vnarme thẽ selues, & refreshe their bodies: geuing them to vnderstãd that there was no cause why they should so sodeinely conceiue a feare, seing their enemies were yet a good distaunce from them. At length, when he perceiued they had recouered their spirites, he exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the case present, then to fortifie his campe in the same place. The

degenerated.

The number of Darius men, 45000 horsmen. 200 thousand footemen.

nert daye Mazeus whiche had planted hym selfe on a hygh hill, from whence he might beholde his enemies campe, either for feare, or els because hys commission was but only to discouer, returned agayne vnto Darius. Upon his departure the Macedons by & by toke the hill which he had forsaken, the same being of more strength then the playne where they remayned before, from whence thei might beholde their enemies campe. And though the miste which the moistye hilles did cast forth, toke not away clearely the vse of the prospect: yet it letted them to deserne the deuision of their enemies battailes, and their ordre, the multitude of whom ouerspreade the feildes, and the noyse of suche a nombre fylled their eares, thoughe they were farre of. Then Alexander began to reuolue in hys heade, and debate wyth hym selfe, one whyle Parmenios opinion, and another tyme hys owne. For he was come so far forth that he could not retire except he were victorer, without the great destruction of hys armye. The multitude of hys enemyes moued hym muche in respecte of hys small numbre. Yet on the other parte he remembred what great actes he had done with thē, and howe many nacions he had vainquyshed. So that hope surmountynge hys feare, he thoughte it moste daunger of al, to defer the battaile eny lenger, lest desperation might growe emongest his men, and therefore dissemblyng the matter, caused the Marcenarye horsemen and the Peones to passe on before, and deuided hys Phalanx (as it hath bene saied before) into two battayles, and empaled the same wyth horsemen on both sides. By that time ỹ myste auoyded, and it began to wax cleare, ỹ ordre of their enemies appearing manifestly. The Macedons then whether it were of

courage

courage, or for that they were impaciente to tarie eny lenger, made such a shoute as men of warre vse when they ioyne in battaile, the like was also made by ỹ Parcians. Then the woodes and valeis rounde aboute, rebounded wyth the terrible sounde. The Macedons could not obteyne eny lenger, but would haue runne forwarde towardes their enemyes. But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his campe vpon that hyll, and so commaunded it to be entrenched aboute. Which worke beyng spedely performed, he entered in his tent, frō whence he might behold ỹ whole army, his enemies host. Thē the whole fashion & fourme of the daūger ỹ was at hand, was presented before hys eies: both horsemē & fotemē glistred in their bright armour, and al thinges were prepared wyth great diligēce. He beheld the care of the captaines in his enemies campe, howe they did ride vp & downe to set thinges in ordre. And diuers thinges whiche were but vaine in dede: as the noyse of mē, ỹ neying of horses, & the glistering of their armour, troubled yet ỹ mind that was carefull in the expectacion of the matter. Therefore whether it were that he was not fully resolued in his mind or els to proue the mindes of such as were aboutes hym, called hys frendes to consulte what was best to do. Parmenio that was the moste expert man emonges al the captaines in the feates of warre: thought good not to giue his enemies playne battaile, but rather to set vpō them in the dead time of the night, wherby he thought they might easely be discomfited: supposyng that they emōges whō there was so great diuersitie of customes, and alteration of language. could neuer assemble wel togither, specially whē they should be put sodainely in feare in ỹ night time beinge a sleape: wheras in ỹ day

Parmenio his opinion.

tyme

time the shape of the Scithians and Bactrians with their rough faces, and longe heare, besydes the hugenes of their bodies shuld appeare terrible. And argued howe souldiers were moze moued with vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no momente, then with suche as were iuste causes in dede. He declared also how their enemies by reason of their great multitude, shoulde be able to enclose there small numbze rounde aboute: and that they shoulde not nowe fyghte in the streightes & narowe passages of Cilicia but in an opē and large playne. They all in maner agreed to Parmenios saying: and Policarpon was of a playne opinion, that the victozie consisted in the pointe which he had deuised. The kyng that befoze had taunted Parmenio moze bitterly then he thought good woulde not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and sayed: That Policie ỹ you aduise me, partaineth to stealers and theues, foz it is their propertye to wozke by sleight and disceite. I wil no moze suffre that either Darius absence, the streightnes of the ground, oz the stelthe in the night, shalbe an hinderaunce to my glozye. I am plainely determined to haue to do with him in the opē daye, and had rather repent me of my foztune, than be ashamed of my victozy. Besides thys it is to be considered, that the Parcians keape good watch, and stand armed alwayes in a redines to receyue vs, wherof I haue aduertisement, so that they can not be deceiued that way. Therefoze there doth remayne no moze, but that you prepare your selues to the battayle. When he had by these wozdes put thē in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refreshe their bodies. Darius coniecturing that his enemies woulde haue done the same thyng ỹ Parmenio did perswade, caused the hozses to stand

Alexanders sunt were.

The goptiest stench, is to worke by sleight and deceite.

to stande ready brideled the whole night, and the more parte of hys hoste to continue armed, and keape good watche. His campe shone bright with the fiers ꝑ were made & he him selfe with his capitaines & kinsfolkes went about his battailes that stode in ordre & in armes making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars and to ꝑ euerlasting fier, that they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of mynd, that might aunswer to the auncient glory and actes of his predecessours. And shewed if ꝑ mynde of man were able to conceyue eny tokens or signes of the goddes fauoure or assistaūce, it was no doubte but that thei were bent on their side, hauing already striken a sodein feare emonges the Macedons: which (he said) might be sene by their rūning here and there, by the caryingand casting of their armour. And that the gods which toke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determined to punishe those cowardes: Whose captayne (qd he) being of no other sorte then ꝑ reste, was like vnto these wild beastes, which through gredines of ꝑ praye ꝑ they do couet, fall into ꝑ snares that be set for them. The like care was emonges the Macedons, for as though the matter shuld haue bene tried that night, thei passed it ouer in doubte and feare. Alexander him selfe that was neuer sene in such feare before that time, called for Aristander to make vowes & prayers, who in a white garment caryng Verbenes in his hand, wt his heade couered, went before the king calling vpon Iupiter, Mynerua & Victoria. When he had thus perfourmed his sacrifice according to their religiō, retourned into his Pauiliō to rest ꝑ residue of ꝑ night. Yet he could neither rest nor sleape, but continually debated wt him selfe which way he shuld assaile his enemies: One while he was of opiniō to giue hys fyrste

A triumphe, Lybre kyg ron = anesse.

Ye stoutest are some time ouercome in feare.

Alexander and his ꝑyann wes & superstition, & religion.

first onset vpō that battaile of the Persians ỹ should come on his right hande: Sometyme he determined to mete hys enemies in the verie fronte, and an other while was in doubte whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his body became heauy with trauayle of the mynd, and fel into a sound slepe. Whē the day appeared, the capteines assembled about the kynges pauilion, to receyue their charge. Where they stode amased wyth greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wonte to call vpon other men, and to reproue suche as were slowe or negligent, not to be then styrring when the matter was come to the poincte of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shronke for feare, yet for all that none of them that were aboute hys person durste attempte to wake hym. In the meane season the tyme paste away, and the souldiers myghte neither put on their armour, nor go in ordre of battayle, without commaundemente of their head. When they hadde thus taried a good whyle, Permenio gaue commaundement they shoulde fall to meate. At length when the tyme came, that of necessitie they muste sette their battayles, he entered into the kynges lodgyng, and called vpon hym dyuers tymes by his name, but whē he could not awake him with his voyce, he sturred hym with his hand: It is farforth, daye (quod he) and your enemies come forewardes in ordre of battayle, and your souldiers beyng yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement geuen thē what they shal do. Where is that cherefulnes and courage of yours become, whych were wonte to stirre vp other men. Alexander made aunswere vnto hym: Thinke you that I could slepe

Parmenio to Alexāder

Parmenio a muste & sine commeth, and a true subiect.

sleape before I had rid my self of the care ỳ letteth me to take my rest: and therupõ caused the trompettes to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiracion that he in suche a time coulde slepe so quietly. It is no marueile (quod Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victualles, I could then in no wyse be quiet. But nowe what cause haue I of feare, seyng he prepareth him selfe to fight? He hath nowe fullfylled my desire, resorte you where your charge lyeth, and I will streyghtwayes come to geue ordre emonges you, and reason this matter afterwardes. He vsed seldome to take his frendes aduise when eny doubte or daunger was at hande. When Parmenio was gone he armed him self, and came forewardes emonges the souldiers. They seing him loke so cherefully as they had not done before time, conceyued by the boldnes of his coũtenaunce a certayne hope of the victory. Then he caused ỳ trenches of his campe to be caste downe, that the souldiers might haue free passage forth, and so did set his battailes in ordre. The horsemen whiche they call Agema of whome Clitus was Capitaine, were set in the wynge of his right hand battayle, to whome he ioyned Philotas and other Capytaines. The laste bande of horsemen was Meleagers, whyche wente nexte vnto the square battayle of footemen that the Macedõs name Phalãr. After the Phalanx folowed the Argyraspides, of whome Nycanour the sonne of Parmenio was Capitaine. Cenos with his band was appoincted to be a relief: Horestes and Lyncesta, came next in ordre, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the straungers, and Philagus whiche had the rule of the Balacrons. And thys was the ordre of Alexanders

It argueth a mans wisdom, often wisshyng good counsell.

The ordre that Alexãder vsed at the battaile of Arbella.

Argiraspides.

lexanders battaile, in the ryght warde whereof Amintas was cheife. In the lefte battaile Craterus had the charge of the Pelopenenſion horſemen, and with him alſo the bandes of the Acheians Locrenſians. and Boleanenſiãs, and the laſte tropes were the horſemẽ of Theſſalie, vnder Philip their Capitaine. Thus the horſemen couering the footemen, made the front of the left battaile. And leſt the enemies through their multitude ſhould encloſe the battaile about, he planted a great force behinde for the releife of that matter, and ſet a releife alſo vpon the winges, not in front wyth the reſte but vpon the ſides, to the intent that if the enemies attempted to compaſſe aboute the battailes, that thei ſhould be ready to kepe them doing. Thoſe that occupied ỳ places of relieſe were ỳ Igriãs, of whõ Attalus was capitaine and the archers of Create ioyned vnto them. Such as ſtode in the hinder partes of the battailes, were ordred to turne their faces from the frontwardes, becauſe that being in a redines euerye waye, the battayles in euerye place ſhoulde be of lyke force. They whyche ſtode wyth their faces contrarywiſe were the Illirians, and the Marcinary ſouldiers, wyth the Thracians that were lyght barniſed. Theſe hys battayles were ſette ſo aptly to be turned euerye waye, that ſuche as ſtode in the hinder partes coulde not be encloſed about, but mighte towardes eche part make their fronte: So the fronte, the flanckes, and the hinder partes were all of lyke force. When he had ſet his mẽ in ordre after this maner, he gaue commaũdement, that if the Perſiãs ſhould put forwardes vpõ them their hoked wagons wyth a crie or noiſe, that thẽ they ſhould open their battailes and receiue thẽ wyth ſilence, not doubting but ỳ they ſhoulde paſſe through

wythout

without harme doyng, if no man did reſiſte them. But if thei ſhuld come without eny ſhoute or clamour that then they themſelues ſhoulde make a crie to feare the horſe withal, and ſo with pikes thruſt them in on euery ſyde. They which had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende them ſo muche in breadth as they myght, leſte by ſtanding ouer cloſe, they myght be enuironed, and yet not to ſtretche them ſo farre out, to leaue the places voyde or thinne in ỹ middes. The cariage and the priſoners (emonges whom Darius mother was) were ſet in the toppe of an hill, with a ſmall guard about them. The charge of the left battaile was cõmitted to Parmenio, as was accuſtõed before tyme, and Alexander him ſelfe was in the other. When they were come neare togither, one Bion came fliyng frõ the Perſian hoſte in all the haſte he could make, and declared vnto the kyng that Darius had planted Irõ galtoppes, where as he thought his horſemen ſhould paſſe, and by a certayne ſigne ſhewed hym the place, bycauſe it myghte be auoyded. Alexander willed the the fugytiue to be kepte ſafe, and aſſembled all hys captaines together, declaring ỹ matter, and exhorting them to make their ſouldiers priuie to the daunger. for eſchewyng the place poynted out to them. But all that were in ſo great an armie could not heare ỹ warning giuen, the noyſe of both armies taking away the vſe of the eares. But Alexãder riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortacion to ỹ Capitaines, & to al other that were within hearing. He declared that there was but one hazarde remayning to them that hadde paſſed through ſo many coũtreis, in hope of the victorie which they were now ready to fight for. Therupõ he reduced to their memorie the battailes they had fought, at the

Alexanders exhortacion to hys men.

Ryuer

Ryuer of Granike, in the mountaynes of Cilicia, and wyth what spede they had passed ouer both Syria and Egipt, the rehearsal wherof put thē in great hope and pricked them forwardes to the desire of glorie. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawen againe frō their former flyng, were nowe cōpelled to fight of necessitie, because they could fle no further, and how that thre days togither amased for feare, thei had remained still in one place wyth their armour on their backes. Of whose dispaire (he sayd) there coulde be no greater argument, then ỹ thei had set on fire their owne countrey, confessing all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them not to feare the vaine names of vnknowen nacions, for it was a thing nothing partynent to the moment of the matter, whiche were called Scythians or Caduscians. For that they were vnknowen nacions, was the greatest token that they were mē of no valour. For because such as be valiant mē could neuer be vnknowen in the world. And contrarwyse dastardes, whē they come forth of their dennes, bring nothing wyth them but names of men, where as you (qd he) that be Macedōs haue obteyned by your vertue and manhode, that there is no coūtrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euil order that was in their enemies host, of whom some had no weapō but a darte, other a sling to caste stones, & verye fewe had such armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great nōbre on the other parte, yet (he saide) they had more on their side that shoulde come to hande stripes. And that for hys parte he would not require eny man to aduenture hym selfe, excepte he were an ensample to them to shewe valiātnes and courage. For he promised that he

he ſhould be ſene fighting with the formoſt, knowinge that ſo many woundes as he ſhoulde get ſhoulde be ſo many ornamentes to his perſone. He ſayde, they themſelues knewe that he woulde be no partaker of ỹ pray, but that euer his cuſtome was to beſtowe the rewards of the victorie to theyr behoue and cõmoditie. Hys former wordes he ſhewed to be ſpoken to ſuche as were men of courage, but if there were eny that were otherwyſe, he had to ſaye vnto them: that they were come to the place from whence they coulde not fle, hauyng left ſo many countreis behinde thẽ whych they had paſſed ouer, & ſo manye riuers & mountaines at their backes. So that nowe there was no way to their houſes and countrey, but ſuche as they muſt make open with their owne handes. This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the capitaines, and to ſuche of the ſouldiers as ſtoode next him. Darius that was in his lefte battaile accompanied wyth a choyſe band of elect horſmen and fotemen, diſpiſed the ſmall numbre of his enemies, theyr battailes appearing to hym thinne and voyde of men, when he ſawe their winges ſtretched ſo far abrode. He ſtode therfore in his Chariot on hie, and turnyng hym ſelfe both on the right hande and the left, ſpake in thys ſort to ſuch as were aboute him. We that not longe a go were lordes of al the countries liyng betwixt Helleſpont & the Occeã ſea, are compelled now to fight not for fame and glory but for our ſaueguarde, and our libertie, which chiefly is to be eſteamed. This day ſhal either eſtabliſhe or make an ende, of the greateſt Empire that hath bene in eny age. At the riuer of Granike we fought wt a ſmal part of our powre. Whẽ we were vãquiſhed in Cilicia, Siria was able to receyue vs, & the riuers of Tigre and Euphrates were as bulwarkes

The oracle of Darius.

to defend our kingdome. But now we be come to that point, ỹ we haue no place to flie to, if we be put to flight. All thynges behinde oure backes are wasted with thys long warre, neither cities be inhabited nor mẽ lefte to tylle the grounde. Both our wiues and children do followe thys armye, a praye redye for our enemies excepte we put forth oure bodies for the defence of suche as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath cõcerned me I performed, preparyng such an armye as this huge plaine is scarsly able to receiue: I distributed emonges you horse and armour prouiding that victaules should not want for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to araunge oure battailes in. All the rest remaineth in your handes. Do but dare, and the victorye is yours, despise you thys fame whych is but a weake weapon agaynst men of valure. It is rashnes whyche hitherto ye haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the fyrst brunt is spente, it wareth then dul as these dranes hauing once lost their thonges. Thys playne hath disclosed their smale numbre, whyche the mountaines of Cilicia did hide: you se howe thinne their rankes be, their wynges how they be extended abroad, howe their battailes be emptie and voyde of men, and such as be hindermost haue alredye tourned theyr backes. They may be ouerthrowen with youre horse fete, thoughe I sende none against them but the hoked wagons. And if we wynne the battaile we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto. They be shut in w Tigre on the one side, & with Euphrates on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose, now be turned and make cleare against them. Our armie is lighte, and without muche baggage, and they be laden with praies and with bouties. We shall kil them therfore

foꝛe as they be wꝛapt in our spoiles. And the same one thinge shalbe both our gayne, and the cause of our victoꝛye. If eny of you be moued with the fame of the nacion, you must thinke that the armour with the outward shewe not the bodies of the very Macedons be there pꝛesent, we haue cõsumed so much of their bloud since ỹ war begã. And seing they be but few, their losse muste nedes be to them the greater. Foꝛ howe greate so euer Alexander dothe seme to suche as be fearefull and cowardes, he is but a man, and if you truste me, both rashe and without consideracion: and hetherto moꝛe foꝛtunate through out feare, thẽ by his owne valure. There is nothing can cõtinue that is not gouerned by reasõ. Foꝛ though foꝛtune seme to fauour foꝛ a whyle, yet at length she shal not suppoꝛt his rashnes. Besides that the estate of thynges be ful of chaunge, and no manne hath perpetuall felicitye, it maye be that the pꝛouidence of the goddes haue soꝛdeyned it, that the Empire of the Persians encreased wyth suche pꝛosperous successe by the space of two hundꝛed and thyꝛtye yeares, and bꝛoughte to so greate an height of foꝛtune, should nowe rather be shaken, then vtterlye ouerthꝛowen: therbyto admonyshe vs of mans fragilitie, whyche vseth to foꝛget himselfe ouer much in pꝛosperous estate. It is not long ago since of our owne mocion and courage, we moued warre agaynste the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions, but nowe we stand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we be tossed one agaynst an other by exchaunge of foꝛtune. Foꝛ one nacion can not beare the greatnes of the Empire whyche we both do couet. But be it so that hope were taken from vs, yet necessitie ought to pꝛick vs foꝛwardes, the matter is come to suche extremitye. He kearth nowe as

Treason ys a good gouernor.

No worldlie felicitie is perpetuall.

Aduersite fortune doth admonish a man of his fragilitie, not to forget himself in prosperitie.

fortune is vnstable.

Darbyus sonne to Darius.

prisoners,both my mother,my two doughters,and Oc-
chus my sonne,borne to the succession of this Empire.
He keapeth captiue youre princes, the issue that is dys-
cended of the bloude royal: yea, and your capitaines e-
qual with kynges,and if you do not nowe lay to youre
handes I my selfe am lyke to become captiue. Deliuer
you therefore my bowels out of prisonne, and restore
to me my children, for whose sake I do not refuse to
die. Be you all sure that bothe my mother and my chil-
dren(for my wyfe is dead in prison) beholding vp they
handes,cryng vnto the goddes,and calling for youre
helpe,your compassion and fidelitie,that you would de-
liuer them from seruitude,from fetters, and from the
estate they are in,liuinge at other mens wil & appoint-
ment. Thinke you that they can be content to liue vn-
der such,as they coulde scarsly vouchsaue to haue for
subiectes: I se that our enemies battailes do approche
and the neare the daunger is at hand the lesse the wor-
des I haue spoken do satisfie me. I make request to
you by the goddes of our countrey, by the eternall fier
that is caried vpon the aulters,by the bryghtnes of the
sunne that riseth within the boūdes of myne Empire,
and by the euerlasting memory of Cyrus, whych fyrste
did take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians &
gaue it to the Persians,to deliuer their name and this
nation,from thame and reproche. Go forth therefully,
haue you good hope,and se that you restore to your po-
steritie,the glory you receyued of youre elders. Lo,you
cary nowe in youre handes youre libertie, youre helpe,
and your hope in tyme to come. Whosoeuer contemp-
neth death,escaped death and death ouertaketh suche,
as do flie from death. I ryde here in a chariot, not on-
ly for that it is my countrey custome, but also that I
may

Nota.

but also that I may be sene of you al. And I desire nothing so much as ỹ ye wil folowe me, whether I shewe you an ensample of prowes or of cowardnes. In the meane season whyles Alexãder did couet to eschue the place of peril whereof he warned, & enforced him selfe to encoũter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in person, was cõpelled to fetch a compasse about. Whom when Darius perceiued he turned lykewise his own battaile towardes him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagetes horsemen to geue a charge on Alexãders left battaile. He set before him his hoked wagõs, which by a signe geuen brake out sodenly vpon their enemies with a full course, to thintent that by their cõming vnbewares they myght do the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the wagons destroied diuers, and many were torne a sondre by the hokes that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little & little, but troubled their arrai with a maine flight. When Mazeus saw their disorder, he put them in more fear, and appointed out a thousãd horsemen to fetch a compasse about the Macedõs battailes to spoile their cariage, supposinge that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bandes when they should see their owne nacio approche. Parmenio which was in the left wing perceiued thys matter wel, and therfore sente by and by Polidamus vnto Alexander to shewe hym the daunger and knowe hys pleasure what he woulde haue done. When he vnderstode the case by Polidamus: Go thy waye (qd he) and shewe Parmenio, if we wynne the battaile, wee shall not only recouer agayne our owne, but shal haue also the spoile of our enemies. Therefore I would not that eny parte of oure force shoulde bee remoued from the

The battail foughte at Arbella betwixt Alexander and Darius.

maine battaile, but let him fighte it out manfully. I not regarde the losse of baggage, wherin he shal obserue ỹ honour of me, and my father Philippe, whose custome was to do the like. In the meane season the Persians were entred emõges the cariages & had slains diuers that were left therein defence: wherupon the prisoners began to lose them selues, and takyng vp whatsoeuer came to hand, toke part wyth the horsmen, and sharply assailed the Macedõs. Diuers were so ioyful that they ranne to beare tidinges to Sisigambis howe Darius had wonne the victorye, and had ouerthrowen hys enemies to their great slaughter, and also that al their cariage was wonne, thinkyng the lyke fortune had bene euerye where, seynge they sawe the Persians fall to spoyle. And althoughe they exhorted Sisigambis that she shoulde leaue her heuines and reioyse, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, wout speaking one worde or chaũging colour or countenaunce, but sate still immouable. She was so ouer come (as it was thought) wt sodayne ioye, that she durst not sturre nor attempt fortune, for such as dyd behold her, coulde not perceyue, whyche waye she was enclined. In the meane season Amintas, that was maister of the horse to Alexander, came with a fewe bandes of horsmen to succour the cariages, but vncertaine it was whither he did it of his own head, or by the kynges appointmẽt. He was not able to endure the force of the Caduscians and Scithians, for scarsly attempting the skirmish, he was driuẽ back, and fled again vnto Alexãder, being rather a witnes of the losse of the cariage, thẽ a rescuer of the same. The griefe that Alexãder cõceiued of this matter ouercame the purpose he toke before & feared (not wout cause) lest the souldiers throughe ỹ carefulnes to

Amyntas.

recouer

recouer their owne, might leaue ỹ fight, and reſort towarde their baggage: he ſent therfore Aretes captaine of the ſperemen ỹ were named Sarillopherii agaynſt the Scithes. By this time the hoked wagons, whyche had ſomwhat troubled the forefront, were come within the ſquare which the Macedons call Phalanx, yet the ſouldiers neuer ſhronke at the matter, but receiued thē into the middes of their battaile, where as ioyning thē ſelues cloſe together, they ſtode lyke a wall on bothe ſides, thruſting their pikes into the bowels of ỹ horſes, and ran about the wagons, throwyng downe ſuche as ſtode in thē at defence. The whole battaile was entangled & troubled with the ruine & killyng of the horſes, & ſuch as gouerned them. They couldе not rule their horſes when they were once gualled and hurt, whyche with much leaping and ſtrugling not only brake out of their trace, but alſo ouerthrewe the wagons, drawyng at their tailes the men that were ſlaine, neither beinge able to ſtande ſtill for the feare they were in, nor yet go forwardes beinge ſo fainte of their woundes. Yet a fewe of them paſſed through the battaile, whereby ſuch as the wagons dyd lite vpon, were miſerablye ſlayne, liyng vpon the ground with their members cut in ſonder. Yet becauſe ỹ through ỹ greneneſſe of their woundes they felt litle paine, they kepte their weapons ſtyll, notwithſtāding they were maimed & wythout ſtrength, til ſuche tyme as bye continuall bleadynge, they ſonke downe dead. Aretes in the meane tyme had ſlayne the capitaine of the Scythians that were ſpoylyng of the cariages, and repulſed them backe. Aut ſtreyghtwaye came the Bactrians by Darius ſendyng, and tourned the fortune of the field againe. Many Macedōs were ſlaine at ỹ firſt encoūter, but more fled vnto Alexāder.

Aretes.

Then the Persians made suche a showte as men are wont to do that wynne the victorye, and fiersely assayled their enemies, thynckynge that they had in euerye place bene put to flyghte. When Alexander perceyued his men shrinke, to begyn to faint, and geue ground, he rebuked such as he sawe afraied, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight: so that he alone restored the battaile agayne. When he had put thē in hart, he required them to presse forwardes, and go on freelye against their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the cariages, and by their going had left the ryghte hande battaile of Darius thinne and naked, he bente his force wholly that way and there made a wōderful slaughter and destruction of his enemies, which by reasō of their lose aray, were not able to withstand hym. The Persians in the left wyng seing this thinge, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexāder about, and came forwardes to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him being enuironed both before & behinde. If ỹ Agrians had not put their spurres to their horses, and geuen a charge to their enemies, that were enuironyng the kynge aboute, and so compelled the Persians to tourne their faces againe towardes them. The battailes thus were sore trauailed on both sides. Alexander had his enemies bothe before and behynde, and his enemies that came on his back were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoyled the cariages, were excluded from their own company, and coulde not recouer their place agayne. Thus the battayles were deuyded in diuers partes, and foughte one agaynste another as their chaunce fell. The two kynges, that ioyned theyr battailes harde one to another

other, renued agayne the fyght. There were moste of the Persians slayne, but the numbre of the wounded were like on bothe sides. Darius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon an horse. They bothe had a choise bande about them whiche were careles of their owne liues. For if their kynges should miscary, neither they coulde be safe, nor yet desire to lyue. Wherfore euerye of theim thought it a noble thinge to aduenture theimselues before the face of their Prince. And he that couered moste to defende his maister, was in moste perill, for eche man desiered the honour to kyll the kyng on his contrarye parte. There (whether it were an imaginacion of the eyes, or a thing done in dede) suche as were aboute Alexander, beleued that they sawe an Egle flickeryng aboue his heade, whiche neither feared with clashyng of the harneys, nor by the cryyng of theim that were dyyng, hong styll in the ayre, a little aboue him. Then Aristander whiche ware a white garment, and caried lawrell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto ỹ souldiers being busy in fyghtyng, as a certaine token of victory. That thing caused them which before were in some doubt, cherefully & with great cõfidence, to assaile their enemies. The fight cõtinued after this sort, vntil ỹ time that he was slaine, whiche gouerned the horse that dre we Darius chariot. Then neither the Persians nor Macedones doubted, but that Darius had bene slayne. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noyse, and a sorowfull howlynge, wherwyth they sore troubled and astonied their whole hoste, that were yet fyghtynge wyth equall victory. Darius kinsmen and the Squires for his bodye that were on his left hande, left him and fledde awaye with a maine flight: but suche as stode in his defence

on

on his right hande, conueyed hym in to the harte of the battayle. It is saied that Darius drew out his swoorde, and was determined diuers tymes to kyll hym selfe, rather then to susteyne the shame of flyyng away. But when he sawe as he sate aloofte on his Charlote, that a great part of his army remayned yet fightyng, he was ashamed to leaue them in suche sorte. And whyles he thus wauered in his opinio betwixt hope and dispayre, the Persians by little and little gaue grounde, and shronke from their order. Alexãder that had tyred many horses, did at that instant chaunge a new, and strake at the faces of theim that made resistence. There was none then that made resistaunce eny lenger, but a ma-
Darius fled nifeste slaughter fell on the Persians. and Darius tourned his Chariot to flye awaye. The Macedons pursued harde after them that fledde, and the duste that flew vp to the skie, toke away their prospect, so that they wandred as it had bene in darkenes, and euer drew together when they heatde eny voyce they knewe. Onely the ratlyng and noyse of the chariot was a token for the Macedons to folowe after. As Fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this parte, & contrarious vnto their enemies: so on the other syde where Parmenio in the lift wing encountred with the Persians,
Mazeus. they had the better, and the Macedons the worsse. Mazeus with his whole bande gaue a greate charge, and putte the horsemen that stode in the wynges to a sore distresse. And thervpon by reason he abounded with multitude began to enclose the fotemen aboute. Then Parmenio sente woorde to Alexander in what daũger they were in, which he signified to be such, that excepte they hadde succoure in tyme, they coulde not resiste, but be enforced to flye awaye. Alexander was

gone

gone farre in the chase, whē this sorowful message was brought him. Wherfore he commaunded the horsemen to staye, and chaked wonderfullye, that the victorye shoulde thus be taken out of his handes, and that Darius had better fortune in fleyng, then he in his folowyng. In the meane season the fame of Darius ouerthrowe was brought vnto Mazeus. Wherfore though he had the vpper hand, yet he was strikē with such fear of his felowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pursuite vpon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so willingly of their parte, but boldly vsyng the occasion of the victorye, called the Thessalien horsemen vnto him and sayed: Se you not howe our enemies that euen nowe gaue vs a fierce onset, be sodainely afrayed, and withdrawe themselues. I see the fortune of our kyng doth geue vs the victorye. All the feilde be strowen with the Persians, that be slayne. Why do you therfore staye? are you not good inoughe for men that be fliyng? They sawe his wordes had an appearaunce of a truth, and therfore by and by they toke courage, and puttyng their spores to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retired not by little & little, but marched away a greate pace. And they wanted nothing of fliyng, sauyng that they had not yet directly turned their backes: yet for al that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king, nor of his battaile, stayed and would not pursue after them. Mazeus hauyng leasure geuen him to flie at his libertie, passed the riuer of Tigre, not the next way, but by a further cōpasse about with more suretye, and recouered the citye of Babilon, with the remaynes of that vainquished armye. In the meane season Darius wyth a fewe that accompanied him in his

Parmenio encouraged his soldiers

his fliyng came to the riuer of Licus, where passyng ouer he stode in doubte whether he shoulde breake the bridge or no, for it was shewed him that his enemies were at hande. But cõsideryng how many thousandes of his men by the breakyng therof should be a praye to his enemies, he left the bridge standyng, and at his departure, saide: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued him, then to shut it against them that fled after him. But Darius left not his fliyng till he came to Arbella, where he arriued about midnight. Who is able to conceiue in his minde, or expresse in wordes, the manifold chaũces in this discõfiture, the slaughter that fell both vpon captaynes and souldiers, the chasing of them that were put to flight, & the destruction in particular, and in generall. Fortune heaped together that one daye the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some toke the way that came next to hand, another sort fled vnto the woodes, & sought out by pathes to escape suche as had them in the chase. There was a confusion of horsmen and fotemen mixed together without eny heade, the armed with the vnarmed, and the whole with the hurte. At length the cõpassion that one had of an other was turned into feare, and they that coulde not folow, were left bewailing thẽ selfes one to another. But thirst chiefely afflicted the wounded and wery, which laye along euery where in the waies where eny water was, gaspyng after it with open mouth. And when for gredines they hadde gulled in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the mudde once entered into their entrayles. And beyng thus not in case to moue, the enemye came and slurred them vp wyth new woũdes. Some when the brokes neare hand were taken vp by other: sought out for springes in euerye secrete place.

The discomfiture.

Sacrõ xpianissimũ be sepe, vnde Ero iudicaturꝰ seculũ.

For

Nor there was no puddle so dyre nor so farre out of the waye, that could be hidden from the thirst of them that searched theim oute. The olde men and women were heard howlyng and cryng in all the villages neare the waye syde, howe Darius was yet their kyng. Alexander (as it hath bene saide before) pursuyng the chase was come to the riuer of Lycus, where as ỹ multitude of the flyers was greater then coulde passe the bridge. So that manye when their enemies pursued theim, lepte into the water, and there laden wyth their armoure, and wearied wyth fyghtynge and flyinge, were consumed wyth the streame. But wythin a whyle neyther the bridge, nor the Riuer, were able to receyue the thronge that continually encreased by their vndiscrete flyinge. For when feare was once entered into their hartes, they doubted onely that whiche put them firste in feare. The Macedōs were eger in the pursute of their enemies, & required Alexander that he would not suffer their enemies to escape fre away. But he to stay thē, alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hādes wearied, their bodies faint with long pursute, & the night beside fast approchyng on. But in very dede the care of his other battayle, whyche he thought to be yet fightyng, caused him to retourne to their succour. He had not so sone turned his ensignes, but that certayne horsemen brought him worde from Parmenio, that he likewise had put his enemies to flyght. He was not in so great a daunger all that daye, as when he was commyng towarde his campe. For there were but few that folowed him, and they were oute of order, as men that reioysyng of the victory, iudged al their enemies either to be fledde or slaine in the feilde. Sodainely there appeared a bande of Persian horsemen cōmyng against them,

Extreme miserie

The daūger Alexander was in at his returne from the chase.

them, which at the first stayed, but afterwardes perceyuyng the small nũbre of the Macedons, gaue a charge vpon thẽ. The king rode formoste, rather dissimulyng then despisyng the peryll he was in: but his perpetuall felicity neuer fayled him in extremities. For at the first encountre he strake the capitaine of the Persians, who in egernes of the fight vnaduisedly came against him, throughe with a speare. When he with that blowe was striken to the ground, Alexander slewe the next vnto him with the same staffe, and after diuers other. When his company sawe their enemies amased with his doynges, they brake vpon them, and threwe many to the earth. yet they for their partes were not vnreuenged, for the whole battaile did not so earnestly fight, as that small bande assembled so by chaunce. But at lengthe when they sawe flyyng in the darcke to be more suretye to them then fightyng, they shorked away in diuers cõpanies. Alexander hauyng escaped this extraordinary peryll, brought his men in sauegeuarde vnto his camp. There were slayne of the Persians, which came to the knowledge of them that had the victorie, xl. M. and of the Macedons lesse then. ccc. whiche victorie Alexander wanne more by his owne vertue, then by eny fortune: and with hardines & courage, more then through eny aduauntage of the grounde. For he both ordred his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wisedome he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the weight of the whole matter to cõsist in the battaile it selfe. Whiles the fortune of the fielde was yet doubtfull, he vsed him selfe as assured of the victorye. And when he had put his enemies in feare, he ceased not til he had set them flyynge, and that whiche scarsely can be beleued, in that fiersenes of courage, he

pur-

pursued in the chase more wikelythen credelye. For if he shoulde haue folowed on styll parte of his power yet fightynge in the fielde, he shoulde either haue losle the battaile through his owne fault, or els haue wonne the victorye through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victorie, he hadde shewed him selfe afrayed of the horsemen that he mette, he muste either haue shamfully fledde, or haue bene miserablie slaine. For his capitaynes were not to be defrauded of their commendation: for the woundes that they did receyue, were tokens of their manhode. Ephestions arme was wounded wyth a speare, Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas wyth shotte of arrowes weare nere slayne. And if we will geue a true iudgement of the Macedons, that were there, we must confesse that he was a kyng worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of suche a maister.

men worthye of suche a mr.

(:*:)

The fifte boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, Kyng of Macedon.

(.i.)

IF I shall make mencion of the matters that chaūsed in the meane season both in Greece, Illyria, and Thracia, by the appoyntment and commission of Alexander, in ordre as thei fell: the matters of Asia shold therby be interrupted, which I thought most cōuenient to put wholly together, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioyne theim in thys worke, as they agree with the tyme. I wyll firste speake of those thinges that ensued after the battayle at Arbella, where Darius arriued about midnyght. And as it chaunsed, the more parte of his frendes, and of all other that were escaped from the feilde, were come thether. He called them all together, and spake to them in this effecte: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men, gapyng with gredy desire for the aboūdaunce of spoyle that was in readines for them, woulde visite such cities & countries of his, as were moste notable & plentifull of riches: which thing (he saied) considerynge his estate, coulde not but turne at length to his auaile. His purpose was (he saied) with a small band, to repaire into the desertes. And seyng the vttermoste boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from thence easilye repaire his power againe to renue the warre. Let therfore that gready nation (qd he) take my treasure, & satisfie their great honger with gold, whiche shortly shall cause both the same and them also to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he saied) by experience that

Interrupted.

Darius wordes to them that were fled from the feilde.

that the aboundance of riches, & excesse of thinges, & their flockes of cõcubines and Eunukes, were nothing els but burdens and impedimentes: whyche Alexander possessing and carying about, should make him inferior vnto thẽ of whom before he was victorious. His oracion seamed to al men to be ful of desperacion. For they sawe thereby that the rich citie of Babilon should be geuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortlye after with al other ornamẽtes of the realme that were cause of the war. But he proceaded in persuading thẽ, how that men in aduersitie ought not do thinges that should seame goodly in the speakinge, but necessary in the experience. That warres were made wyth iron, & not with gold, with men, and not wyth the walles of cities, for al thynges folowe them that be armed and in strength. He shewed that hys auncetours were afflicted after this maner in the beginning, and yet recouered againe quickly theyr former estate. After he hadde spoken these wordes, either for that they were thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeied his auctoritie then liked his counsel, folowed him into the boũdes of Media. Shortly after Arbella was geuen vp vnto Alexander, whyche was full of riches and treasure, of precious stuffe, and princely apparaile, and besides the substaunce of the whole armye was lefte there. The sycknes that began in Alexanders campe, risinge of ỹ sauour of the deade bodies scatered ouer al the fieldes, was the cause that he did the soner remoue. The playne countrey of Arabia verye notable wyth the aboundaũce of sweate odowrs there growyng, lay vpon the ryght hãd as they marched. And so passed through the countrey lyinge betwene Tigre and Euphrates, which is so fat & plentifull a ground, that ỹ inhabiters

Arbella yeld did vnto Alexander.

Arabye.

be faine to dryue their beastes from feadinge, leaste they shoulde kyll theym selues by eatyng ouer much. The cause of thys fertilitie commeth of the moyster that issueth from boothe riuers, distillynge by vaynes throughe the grounde. Both these ryuers haue their beginninge in the mounteynes of Armenye, where they be distaunt .v. thousande .v. C. furlonges, and so runne forwardes keapinge their distance, til they come neare the boundes of Media & Gordia. For thē by little and little the further they go, they draw more neare together, leauyng lesse space betwixte them. They enclose on both sides the countrey ỹ is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne throughe the bounds of Babilō into the read sea. After Alexāder had chaūged his campe fourtimes, he came to a citie called Mennium, where as there is a fountayne wythin a caue, that boyleth out great plenty of pitche: so it appeareth that the Babilonians had their cemēt from thence, whiche they emploied about the making of their huge walles. As Alexāder was going frō thence towardes Babilō: Mazeus whiche was sayd before to haue fled from the battaile, came to mete hym in mooste humble maner, where as cōmitting his childrē into his hādes, yelded hym selfe, and rendred vp the citye. His comming was very gratefull vnto the kinge, considerynge what trauaile he should haue susteined in the siege of so strong a Citie: if it had bene kepte againste hym. And besides forsomuch as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiaūt, & much noted for his doing in the last battaile, thought his ensample should much prouoke others to do the like. For that cause he receyued bothe hym and hys chyldren wyth gentil maner, and yet gaue order to hys men that they shoulde enter into the citie in suche araye

Tygre.

These countreyes that lye betwene tygre & Euphrates, are plentifull and fertill, so that the people of that countrey do dryue them rattell from feding lest they should hurt them selues, yf they were entring.

Euphrates.

Mesopotamia.

Mennium

Gratefull.

Mazeus.

Mazeus vpryght of Babilon.

araye of battaile as if they should fight. A great numbre of ỹ Babilonians stode vpon the walles, desirous to behold him that was their newe kyng. But the more parte went fourth to mete hym. Bagistenes that was captayne of the castle, and keper of ỹ kynges treasour, because he would shewe hym selfe to be no lesse affectionate towardes Alexander than Mazeus was, strowed al the wayes where he should passe, with flowers and garlandes, and set aulters of siluer on both sydes wyth frankensence burninge vpon the same, and al other kinde of swete odours. Next vnto hym came flockes of beastes, greate numbres of horses wyth Lions, and Pardalles caried in cages, whyche he broughte to geue as presentes vnto Alexãder. And after them the Magies singing accordyng to theyr countrey maner. The Caldies went nexte with their deuiners and prophetes, and then the musicians wyth their kyndes of instrumentes: whose propertie was to singe the praises of kinges, and the Caldeis vsed to declare the motiõs of the planetes, wyth the course and reuolucion of the time. Last in order came the Babiloniã horsmẽ, whose sumptuous furniture, bothe for them selues and theyr horses, tended more to voluptuous and delicatye, then to eny magnificence. Alexander that was enclosed about wyth armed men wylled that the Babilonians should come behind his footemen, and he riding alofte in his chariot entred into the citye, and afterwardes into the palaice, where the next daye he surueied Darius treasure and ryches. The beutye and pleasauntenes of that citie, gaue iuste occasion to Alexander and such as were with him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder therof, and according to some mens opinion Belus, whose palaice is to be sene ther,

Bagistenes

The distripcion of Babilon.

Semiramis. Belus

The walles be made al of brick ſet with a kind of pitch, called Betumen. And they be .xxxii. fote in breadthe, ſo that two cartes may eaſely go vpō thē afront. They be in height .C. cubites, & the towers be .x. fote higher thē the reſt of the walles. The compaſſe of them about is, CCClxviii. furlonges, beinge builded (as it is lefte in memory) in ſo many daies. The houſes ſtand ẏ breadth of an acre diſtaūt from the walles, not builded throughout the citie, but only by the ſpace of .iiii. ſcore & .x. furlonges, & thoſe not ioyned neare one to another, but for ſome conſideracion deuided a ſondre. The reſte of the ground is ſowed and tilled to thintēt that if eny forein powre come againſt them, they ſhould be able to be releaued by the fruite therof cōminge. The riuer of Euphrates doth runne throughe the myddes of the citie, & is kepte in on bothe ſides with walles of a wounderful worckmāſhyp. But the great caues made of brick, and ſet with pitche in ſteade of morter wrought, low within the ground to receiue the violēce of the ſtreame, do excede al the reſt of ẏ worckes there made: for excepte the ſame were of quantitie and largenes to receyue ẏ water whē the ſtreame floweth ouer ẏ bankes ẏ be made to kepe it in, the violence thereof ſhoulde beare downe the houſes of the citie. There is alſo ouer that riuer a ſtone brydge, whych ioyneth both partes of the citie togethers: counted emonges the maruelous worckes of the Orient. For by reaſon that Euphrates is ſo full of mudde and owſe, grounde can ſcarſely there be found to lay the foundacion vpon, & the ſtreame beſydes caſteth vp ſuch heapes of ſande agaynſte the brydge that it is an impediment for the water freely to paſſe, & therfore beareth vpon the brydge with greater force, then if it had his fre recourſe. There is alſo a caſtle that is .xx fur-

Th· Caſtel of Babilon.

furlonges about the towres, whereof be .xxx. fote depe within the ground, and .iiii. score fote in heighte aboue the ground. Where also the wonders are to be sene, so often mencioned in the Greake poesies. For in ỳ same be whole groues of trees set by woũderful arte aboue the ground, so highe as the toppes of the towres, which be marueilous bewtiful and pleasaunt throughe their height and shadow that they make. The whole weight of them is susteined and borne by huge pillers made of stone, vpon whiche there is a floore of square stone, that bothe vpholde the earth that lieth deape vpon the pillers, and also the humour wherewyth it is watered. The trees ỳ growe therupõ be of eight cubites aboute, and as fruteful as if they grew in naturall earth. And although processe of tyme is wont by little, & little, not only to destroie thinges made with hande, but also the very worckes of nature: yet this worcke, for al it is oppressed with the rootes of so many trees, and burdened with the weight of so much earth, & of so great a wood. Yet remaineth vnperisshed in eny point, being susteined vp with .xx. broade walles distãt .xl. foote one from another. Whẽ these trees be sene a farre of, thei seame to be a wode growing vpon a mountaine. It is sayd ỳ a king of Syria reigning in Babilõ, builded this worke for his wiues cãsie, who for the loue she had to woodes and shadowie places, moued her husbãd in doing ther of to coũterfeit the plesaũtnes of nature. Alexãder taried lenger there then in eny other citie, which hurted more the discipline of the Macedons in their warres, thẽ eny other place. For nothing was more corrupt thẽ ỳ maners & customes of that citie, nor eny other was more aboundantly furnished of al thynges, wherwith mẽ be allured and sturred to excessiue pleasures. The

Other people do most abomynably reuelte, feste vo most corrupt= tion of manes.

The cus stomes of the Babilo= mans.

parentes and husbandes were contented for gayne, y their children and wiues should haue company wt such straungers as came emonges them. The kinges and nobilitie of Perce, delite much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonians be specially geuen thereunto, to wyne, and to dronkēnes, where the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparaile semeth womāly and demure, but afterwardes by little and little thei put of their vppermost garmentes, and layinge a side all shamefastnes, do discouer theym selues naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlottes only, but by them al in general, which counte the making of their bodies commen, but a ciuilitie & good maner. In this voluptuousnes and abhominacō, the conquerour of Asia walowed by the space of .xxxiiii. dayes, whereby he became muche the weaker to haue done other enterpryses, if he had had an enemie to stād against him. But to thintent the harme he toke should the be lesse perceyued, he encreased hys power wyth a newe supplie of men. For Amintas the sonne of Andromenes brought him from Antipater syxe thousand Macedon fotemen, .v.C. horsmen, & with them .v.C Tracian horsemen, with .iii.M.v.C. footemen of the same nacion. He had also put of Peloponese .iiii. M. fotemen, & .iiii.C. .iiii. score horsmē being Mercenary souldiers. Amintas also brought with him .L. younge men of the nobilitye of Macedonia to attende vpō Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the kyng at meate, & to bring him his horse when he went to battaile. They accustomed to be about hym when he hunted, and kept the watche by course at his chambre doze. These were they which afterwardes proued great capitaines, and that was the race out of the which the rulers

The babilonians geuethe women to dronkennesse.

An vnshamefast custome of women.

I wonder this custome were not in babilon onlie.

Amyntas came to Alexander with a new supplie of men.

lers of their mē of warre dyd come. Alexander appoynted Agathō capitaine of the castle of Babilon, vii. C. Macedons, and. iii. C. Mercenary souldiers and lefte Mynetas and Appollidorus gouernours of the citye & the countrey, to whom he assigned two. M. footemen and a. M. talentes geuing thē in commission to wage more souldiers. He made Mazeus that gaue the citye into hys handes, lieutenaunt of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yelded vp the Castle to folowe him in his warres. Armenia was geuen to Mythrenes that betraied the citie of Sardos, & to encourage hys souldiers to the enterprising of other thynges, gaue out of the treasure of Babilon to euery Macedon horsman. v. C. deneres, to euery horseman of the straungers. v. C. and to euerye foteman two. C. When he had set order in al these thinges, he came into the coūtrey called Atrapene which being plentiful of all thynges and aboundaunt of vitaile, caused the kyng to tary the lenger ther. And lest idelnes should be eny abatement of his mennes courages, deuised to stur vp their spirites and kepe them occupied, by appoincting iudges to trie out such as had shewed them selues moste valiaunt in the warres, to whom he assigned rewardes due to their deseruynges. There were eyght found out, whose doynges appeared aboue the rest, and the charge of a. M mē was committed to euery one of thē: & were called Chiliarchi. That was the fyrst tyme they put a. M. in a band, for before that tyme they were deuided into v. C. whyche was not counted eny greate preferment or rewarde of seruyce. The numbre of them were greate that came to pleade their ryghte in thys behaulfe, whiche before the iudges that gaue sentence, broughte in testimonye of their doinges: whereby it coulde not be

Agathon.

Mynetes Appollydorus.

Armenia.

The countrey of Atrapene.

dlened dotge de abate courage.

vnknowen which of them had deſerued iuſtly ſuch honour or not. The firſt place was adiudged to old Adarchias, for his valiauntnes vſed in the battaile at Alicarnaſſon, where he chiefly did reſtore agayne the fyghte, when the young ſouldiers had geuen it ouer. The ſecond place of honour was geuen Antigonus, & Philotas, Angeus obteined the thyrd, the fourth was adiudged to Amintas, the fifte to Antigonus. Amintas the ſonne of Linceſtes obtained the ſixte. Theodorus the ſeuenth, and Hellanicus the laſte. Hereupon to greate purpoſe he altered manye thynges that were vſed by his predeceſſours in the diſcipline of warre. For where as before the horſemē of euery coūtrey were in ſeueral bandes by them ſelues, he without reſpect of any nacion appointed thē ſuch capitaines as he thought expedient. And where as at the remouing of the cāpe warninge was accuſtomed to be geuen by a trompet, the ſounde whereof in any noyſe or tumulte coulde not be ſufficientlye hearde: he cauſed an highe pole to be alwaies ſet vp before his pauilion, whereupon remained a ſigne apparaūt to al men. Thē toke ỹ they obſerued was fire in the nyght, & ſmoke in the daye tyme. As he
Abulites. was marching towardes Suſa, Abulites ỹ was ruler of ỹ regiō, either by Darius cōmaūdement, thinking by meanes of the ſpoile to deteine Alexāder the lenger there, or els of his owne frewil, ſente his ſonne to mete him, profering the deliuery of the citie. The youge mā was entreated very gently, & by his cōduction Alexāder paſſed forwardes, till he came to the riuer of Hy-
Hydaſpis. daſpis, which is counted to be a verye delicate water. Abulites there mette Alexāder with princely and riche giftes, and preſented hym amonges the reſte of other thinges, Dromedarye camels that were wonderfull

ſwift,

swift, wyth .xii. Elephantes ỹ Darius had sent for out of India, to be a terroir to the Macedons, which now were become an encrease of their strength. Whē the riches of the vainquished, was come into the victorers handes: He founde in that citie an incredible treasure l. M. talētes of Massy siluer vncoyned: which riches gathered togither in the space of many yeres by diuers kings for their succession and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the hādes of a forayne prince. Alexander beyng lodged within the palaice, did sit downe in Darius seate: which beyng higher then serued for his stature, by reason his fete could not reach to the groūd, one of the kings pages put a borde vnderneth for him to treade vpō. At the doing wherof, one of the Enukes that belonged to Darius loked heauily, and fetched a great sighe, whose sadnes when Alexander perceiued, he enquired of him the cause. He aunswered, that whē he beheld the borde wherupon Darius was wonte to eate employed to so base an vse, he coulde not beholde it wythout great griefe. Alexander beyng therfore ashamed, so muche to misuse the thynge that before was hadde in suche reuerence, caused the same to be taken awaye. But Philotas made requeste he shoulde not so do, but rather take it as a diuinacīō of his good lucke and fortune, that the table wherupon his enemye did eate, should now become subiect vnder his fete.

Many goode thinges for a litle sclaue, & wyckednes, & wretch, other men take the profit.

Susa wher Alexander found incredible treasure.

God transposeth riches & treasure from one to an other, euen in a moment.

Great mutabilitie that that bondemen serue bome thinge to feede on, wan thonges bitte & venonge for an other thinge to treade on.

Alexander purposyng from thēce to passe into Perce, committed the citie of Susa to Archilaus with .iii. M men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the castle, leauing such Macedōs as were aged there in guarisō. But he did betake the keping of the treasure vnto Callicrates, & restored to Abulites the gouernemente and principalitie of the countrey of Susa, leuyng within the citie

Archilaus.

Zenophilus.

Callicrates.

citye Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexander had at the same time plenty of cloth of purple sent him out of his countrey, with garmentes ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honoure he bare to Sysigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if she had bene his mother) thought good to presente part of those to her, with the persons that vsed to make them: and willed it should tolde her if she liked thē, that she should accustome her neces to make the like, & geue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message the teares rāne out of hir eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her, for the Persian womē take nothyng in more despite, then to put their handes to wolle. When reporte was made to Alexander in what sort she had receiued his present, thought both the matter mete to be excused, and her to be comforted. Therefore he came to visite her, & sayd: This garment which I weare, was both of the gifte & makyng of my sisters, our customes brought me into errour. Therfore I require you, that ye wil not take mine ignorauunce in euil parte. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficiently al thinges whiche I knewe to be your customes. When I vnderstode that it was not lawfull emonges you, for the sonne to sit in the mothers presence, except she doth geue him leaue, whēsoeuer I came vnto your presence, I would neuer sitte til you willed me so to do. You would oftētimes haue fallen downe & worship me, but I wold not suffer you, but haue euer honored you, & geuen you the name due to my swete mother Olimpiades. Whē the king with these wordes had wel pacified her, he departed, and by foure encampynges came vnto a Riuer that the countreymen call Pasatygras: which springing in the mountaines of the Vrions, runneth

Alexanders excuse to Sisigambis of the presente he sent her.

Pasatigras.

neth steepe downe emonges the rocke with woody bankes by the space of .50 furlõges: but then descendynge into a playne, it becommeth nauigable, and so runneth with a more quiet streame, & in a softer grounde by the space of .vi.c. furlonges, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian sea. Alexander passyng this riuer wyth thousand fotemen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the Mercinary Greakes, & with .iiii. thousand Thracians, came emonges the Urions: whose coũtrey is neare vnto Susis, & stretcheth out into Persia, leauyng betwixt it and Susis a narow streight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time, for he determined to abide the extremitie for his duties sake. Such as knew the coũtrey, did enfourme Alexander ỹ there was a priuy way through the hilles, wherby men myght gette to the furthermost side of the chiefe citye of that countrey: & if he would send a fewe that were light armed they might be brought to a place wher they should appere aboue their enemies heades. This counsaile liked him so well, that he made the counsailers guides, and committed theim to Tauron, whõ he appointed chiefe of that enterprice. He assigned to him a thousãd .v.c. Mercenarie souldiers, & a thousand Agriãs, with whom after the sunne was gone downe, he entred into his iourney. Alexander in the third watche remoued his campe, and by the spring of the daye had passed the streightes. There he set his men in hand to cut downe timbre for ỹ making of towers and all other suche thinges as perteyned to the assault of a citye, and so began his siege. It was a difficulte matter to make the approche, the citye stode so high and the rockes gaue such impediment, whereby ỹ souldiers were repulsed, & receiued many hurtes,

The vrions

Madates.

A rare thinge to fynde so true a subiect, when fortune frowneth vpon the prince, as she did vpon darius being throste out to flight.

Tauron.

con

contending both wyth the enemies and the ſcytuacion of the place. Notwythſtanding they geue it not ouer, by reaſon the kinge was euer emonges the foremoſt, aſkynge of them if they were not aſhamed beyng the conquerours of ſo many cyties, to be ſo longe in the winning of a ſmall caſtle, that was ſo obſcure and vnknowen in the woꝛld. As he was trauelyng emonges the reſt they did ſhote and caſte ſtones at him from the walles, whome the ſouldiers defended wyth their tergettes, becauſe they could not remoue hym awaye. At length Tauron appeared aboue the caſtle of the cytie: at whoſe ſight the enemies hartes fainted, and ꝑ Macedons the moꝛe fierſlye did aſſayle them. When they ſaw them ſelfes in this extreamitie, and perceiued their poꝛe not able to wythſtande the Macedons, they became of diuers diſpoſitiõs. Foꝛ ſome were determyned to dye, and many to flye awaye. But the greater parte retired them ſelues into the caſtle, from whence they ſent vnto Alexander. xxx. Embaſſadours to aſke mercy. But he gaue vnto them a ſoꝛowfull aunſwere that there was no pardõ to be obteined at his handes, Wherupõ they beyng in doubt of death and excluded frõ al other remedies, ſent vnto Siſigambis by a ꝓpue way vnknowne to their enemies, making their requeſte ꝑ ſhe would vouchſaufe to be a meane to Alexãder foꝛ the pacefiyng of his rigour & wꝛath towardes thẽ. In her onely thei put their hope, knowing howe much Alexãder loued her, and that he eſtemed hir as if ſhe had ben his mother. And thei thought ſhe would ꝑ rather enclyne to their deſire, becauſe Madates ꝑ was eaptaine there had maried hir ſiſters daughter, wherby he became a kin to Darius. Siſigambis ſtode long in denial of their requeſte, ſhewing, that it agreed not wyth

with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, addyng therunto, that she feared lest she might misuse the victorers fauoure, & make him wery of her, for (she said) that she had more remẽbraunce that she was prisoner, thẽ that she was a quene. But at length she was ouercome with their suite, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after suche a sorte, that she first excused her selfe of her suite making, and after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the least wayes that he would forgeue her being peticioner but for the like only of such one, as was her frende and her kinsman, & now no lenger eny enemy to his maiestie, but in readines to submit him self. This one matter is sufficient to declare the moderatiõ and clemency that was then in Alexander: for he did not onelye pardon Madates, but also left the citye vntouched, graunting to all that were within it bothe libertie & fredome, with enioyment of their landes and goodes, without paiyng of eny tribute: more then the which she could not haue obteined of Darius beyng her sonne. When he hadde thus subdued the Uxions, he annexed them to the prouince of Susa, & purposyng to passe forwardes, deuided his army into two partes, wherof he cõmitted the one to Parmenio to be cõducted by the plaine coũtrey, and reseruyng suche a parte as was pestered least with baggage, toke the way of the mounteynes, which wyth a cõtinual ridge, runneth out in length from thence in to Perce. In his passage he destroyed al the moũtaine coũtrey, arriuyng the .iii. day in the boũdes of Percia. The fifte daye he entred into the streightes of Pylae, Sulydae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with .xx.M. fotemẽ who kepyng the toppes of the high and steepe rockes, that hong ouer on both sides the waye, at the

Intercessio.

Peticioner

Liberalitie did abounde in Alexander.

Ariobarzanes kept the streighte betwixte Susis & Percia

the first kepte them selues quiet of purpose, pretẽdyng a feare, vntill suche tyme as the army was entred into the narowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwardes in their contempt, thẽ they threwe downe great stones vpon them: which fallyng vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breakyng in pieces, rebounded emong the Macedons, falling wt such violẽce that they distressed whole bandes at once. And besides they did thẽ great domage with shot of arrowes, and stones that they did caste out of slynges. Such as were men of courage were not so much greued with the death, and destruction that thei saw there presently, as ỹ they should be slaine after such a maner like beasts caught in a pitte, where as they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was tourned into suche a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp against the rockes, & there enforced them selfes by taking holde, and by heauyng vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they hadde caught hold vpon some outward parte, and therby labored to ascend, by force of so many handes that fastened to it at once, they pulled a sunder the thynge they helde by, and so fell downe all togethers. In this case thei could neither remaine, passe forwardes, nor yet defend thẽ selues by eny deuise they could make wt their targets, seyng the stones were of suche weight ỹ were throwen downe vpon thẽ. Alexãder was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe he receiued by the destruction of his men, but muche more for the shame that he had so rashelye brought his armye into suche a dangerous streight. He had bene inuincible before that daye, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had passed the streightes of Cilicia without domage, and opened to him selfe a newe waye by sea into Pamphilia.

plucked

whiche felicitie of his semed then to be at a staye, and plucked backe, for he could perceiue no other remedye, then to retourne by the waye he came. He caused the retreite therfore to be blowen, and gaue order to hys souldiours to go close together, and by castynge their targets ouer their heades, returne backe againe, after they had marched. xxx. furlonges within the streight. When he was returned and had planted his campe in an open grounde, consultynge what was beste to dooe: suche a superstition entered into his mynde, that he called for the prestes and deuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Aristander to whom he gaue moste confidence, coulde do nothing in that case.

Alexander therfore cõdemnyng their sacrifices which he thought then done oute of tyme, called for suche as knew the coũtrey. They shewed him of an other waye that was plaine & open inough, but yet he liked it not, he was so ashamed to leaue his souldiers vnburied ỹ were slaine. For emonges all other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kept, then the buriyng of the dead. He caused therfore suche prisoners as were latelye taken to be called before him, emonges whom there was one experte both of the Greake and Persian tongue, which shewed to the king ỹ he labored in vaine, if he thought to cõuey his army ouer the toppes of those moũtaines, whiche (he saied) began at mounte Caucasus, and closed in the one side of Perce, by the space of. M. vi. C. furlonges in length, and. clx. in breadth, till suche tyme as they come vnto the sea, which also enclosed the coũtrey from the place where the moũtaines ceased. The countrey lyng at the foote of the mountaynes, he described to be playne, fruitefull, and replenyshed wyth many fayre cityes and villages, and that the Ryuer of

The heathen & barbarous people vse great reuerence.

The description of the streytes the coũtrey thereunto adioyning.

Araxes rūnyng through the same, falleth into another riuer called Medus, bringyng wyth it the waters of many small streames. Whiche riuer of Medus beyng muche lesse then the same whiche it doth receyue, runneth from thence towarde the Southe sea. No place coulde be more abcundaunt of grasse, for euery where neare vnto the water, the grounde was couered ouer wyth floures. The Riuer was shadowed ouer wyth Plantyne and Pople trees, which by reason they stand somewhat highe, and the water runne lowe in a deape chanell: seme to suche as be a farre, to be woodes adioynyng to the mountaynes. He counted no countrey in all Asia to be more holesome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowye mounteyne that euermore defendeth the heate, & also of the sea, which on that part beyng at hand, with a certayne temperature doth nourish the ground. Whē the prisoner had made a descriptiō of the coūtrey after this maner, the king enquired of him whether he knewe those thynges by reporte, or elles hadde sene them wyth his eyes. He saied that he had bene an hardman, & knewe the countrey very well, and all the passages. And that he had bene twise taken prisoner, once by the Persians in Licia, and now the second time by him. Upon those wordes Alexander called an oracle to memorye, whereby it was signified to him that a Lician shoulde be hys guide into Perse. Wherfore promisyng to hym suche rewardes as the presente necessitye required, & as his estate was mete to receyue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons maner, & to be their guide to shewe them the waye. Whiche thoughe he had declared to be but streight and difficult, yet Alexāder put no doubt to passe it with a small nūbre: thinkyng it an easy matter

description

Nota.

and perpetuall commendacion ỳ the herdman whiche had passed it often tymes in feading of his beastes. Then the prisoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the waye, specially for such as ware armour. But the kinge said, to him: Take me for suertie that neuer one of them that be appoynted to the, shall refuse to go, where ỳ shalt passe. That done he left Craterus wᵗ the charge of hys campe, and he hym selfe passed forwardes with such fotemen as were accustomed to hys person, with those bandes of whom Meleager hadde charge and with a thousande Archers on horsebacke, taking first ordre wyth Craterus, that he should keape hys campe in such fourme as it had bene vsed before, and cause many fiers to be madeof purpose, that the enemies might the rather thinke hym to be there still present, he aduised hym further that if he perceiued Ariobarzanes to get knowledge of hys enterprise, and so to sende parte of hys power to the stopping of hys passage, that then by pretending of an assaulte he shuld showe al ỳ terrour he could, to drawe his enemies frō hym to the defence of that place. But of that he hym selfe shoulde deceiue his enemies, and recouer the hill vpō them, that thē vpon ỳ hearing of the alarome in ỳ Perces campe preparing thē selues to his resistaūce, he should not doubt to passe that way from which they were repulsed the day before, iudging they should find no resistaunce, the enemies being conuerted towardes hym. In the thyrd watch he set forwardes in greate silēce, without blowing of trompet, & passed on by such waye, as was shewed him by the guide, Euery souldier that was lyght armed carryng thre dayes vitaile. But when he was on hys way besides the wild rockes and sharpe stones that caused thē oft to fayle their foting,

Craterus.

Meleager.

the snowe also driuen with the wynd, was a great impediment to them in their iourneye. For they fell diuers tymes downe into pittes, and such as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawen after. The night also wyth the countrey vnknowne, and the guyde of whose fidelitye they doubted, encreased muche their feare: considering that if thei should not deceiue their enemies watch, they should be take lyke beastes. Thei waied also that both their sauegard and of the kinges, lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mountaine, where as the way towardes Ariobarzanes laye on the right hande. Then he sente before by the guiding of suche as they had taken prisoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, & Policarpon with a band of the lightest armed, whom he aduised that forasmuch as they had both horsemē and fotemen, and ỹ coūtrey fertyll and haboundaunt of fodder, that they shoulde make no haste, but passe forwardes faire and easely. And he wt the esquiers of his body, & the band of horsemē ỹ thei called Agema, was guided bi another bipath farr of frō ỹ place where his enemies kept their watch. But ỹ passage, was so streight & so holowe that thei suffred great trouble & veracīō in passing therof. It was midday, & thei were so wered, that of necessitie thei muste take rest, hauing so farre to go & as thei had trauailed alredy, sauing ỹ the way was not so difficult nor so roughe, he refreshed therefore his men wt meat & with sleape, & in ỹ second watche did rise vp & passed the reste of hys iourne wythout eny great difficultie, sauing in that parte where ỹ moūtayne begāne to fall aslope towardes the plaine, their passage was sodeinly stopped, by a great gull made with the violence of the

streames

streames that ranne down the moũtaines, by wearing away of ỹ earth. And beſides ỹ trees ſtãding ſo thicke & the bowes that grewe one within another appeared before thẽ as a continual hedge. Whẽ they ſawe themſelues ſtaied after this maner, ſuche deſperation fel emonges them, that they coulde ſcarſly abſteine from teares: the darkenes being a great encreaſe of their terrour, ſeing they could not enioy eny benefite of the ſtarres. For if eny gaue light, the ſame was taken awaye by the ſhadowe of the trees. And the vſe of the eares could not ſerue for one to receiue counſell and comforte at an other, the wynde whyrled ſo emonges the leaues, and the ſhaking of the bowes made ſuch a noyſe. But at length the daye which they ſo much deſired, deminiſhed wyth his light the terrours that the darknes of the night did make. For bi fetching of a litle compaſſe about, they paſſed the holow gulle, and euery man began to be aguide. Finally thei gotte vp in the toppe of the hill from whence they might beholde their enemies lyng in campe. Then the Macedons ſhewed thẽ ſelues ſtoutly in their armour, appearing ſodeinly on their backes, when thei miſtruſted no ſuche thynge, and there ſlewe ſuche as came fyrſte to encountre wyth them. So that one the one parte the greuous noyſe of them that were ſlaine, and the miſerable ſhowte of ſuche as ran in for ſuccour emonges their owne companye, put the reſt to flyght wythoute making eny reſiſtaunce. When the alarome was once hard in the camp where Craterus lay the army bi and by paſſed forwardes to go through the ſtreightes, in ỹ which thei were repulſed the day before. Philotas alſo who wyth Policarpõ Cennos, & Amyntas, which were gone the other waye, arriued at the ſame tyme, & gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. Whẽ ỹ Perdiãs

At the longeſte romayt tomitte to the aſſirted altho god do deffen ytt a ſeaſon.

sawe their enemies assayling in all partes at once, though they were so oppʒest with their sodaine inuasiō, ꝑ at the fyʒst they were in doubte what to do: yet at length they assembled to gather and fought notably, necessitie styʒring vp the faintnes of theyʒ hartes, foʒ oftentimes dispayʒe is cause of mennes good hope. Thei beyng vnarmed, closed wᵗ them ꝑ were armed, & with the weyght of their bodies pulled their enemyes to ꝑ earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapōs. Arriobarzanes wyth foʒty hoʒsemen, & fiue thousand fotemē, that kept about his persone, bʒake thʒough the battaile of the Macedons, to ꝑ great slaughter both of hys owne men and of hys enemies, and by making of hast, recouered Persepolis the chiefe citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by such as were within, he renued againe the fight wyth such as were wyth him & so was slaine: by ꝑ tyme Craterus that made all the spede he could deuise, was come vnto them, & Alexander foʒtefied his camp in the same place, where he did discomfite hys enemies. Foʒ though thei were all fled and he certaine of the victoʒy, yet bicause he found his way stopped in many places wyth greate and deape diches, he thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great haste, not so muche foʒ feare of hys enemies foʒce, as of the nature of the ground, which he sawe apte foʒ thē to laye embushemē tes againſt him. As he was passing foʒwardes, he receiued letters from Tyʒidates the keper of Darius treasure, sygnifying that ꝑ inhabiters of Persepolis hearyng of his cōming, were about to spoyle the treasure, and that therfoʒe he shoulde make haste to pʒeuent the matter: foʒ the way was ready inough, notwithstādyng that the ryuer of Araxes was in his way. There was

Circumspection

Tyridates.

no

no vertue in Alexander more commendable then hys celeritie, whiche he shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his fotemen behind, he trauelled al night with hys horsemen, and by the day light came to the riuer of Araxes. There he found villages at hande, where of the tymber broken downe of the houses, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones which were layde in the botome of the riuer. Whē Alexander was passed the riuer, & come neare vnto the citye, a cōpany met him so miserable, as seldome haue bene found in eny memory: the same were Greakes to the nombre of iiii. thousand, whom the Parcians before time had taken prisoners, and afflicted wyth diuers kyndes of tormentes. For of them some hadde their feete cut of, some their handes, and other their eares, but all were marked in the flesche with hote yrons. The Persians hauing maimed and deformed them after this maner, kept & reserued them still, as a memory of the despite towardes the nacion. But whē they sawe ꝑ thei should become vnder the obedience of another prince, they suffred the Greakes to mete Alexāder. They appeared rather to be the Images of some straunge monsters, then of men, for nothing could be deserned, or knowē in them but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate caused ꝑ beholders to let fal no fewe teares then they did them selues. For it coulde not appeare whiche of them were moste miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they cried out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Greace had opened their eies in beholding him that should deliuer them: they iudged then al their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from hys eyes, and willed them to be of good cheare, for that they should both

A sort of miserable Captyues.

The persians were a cruell nacion to strege and the outhame, therfore god d. plunged them sustlie, & came them strog meanes and then cand yemen to obserd.

Alexande had a pitifull hart to suffre us wone in our Persepolis miserie.

see their countrey and their frendes, & he encamped in the same place, where he mette the, beyng two forlōges from Persepolis. The Greakes drue themselues toge-ther to cōsult what was best for them to demaunde of Alexāder, and when some were of opinyō to aske dwel-ling places within Asia, & others had more minde to re-tourne vnto their coūtreis: Entymeō Cymeus spake thus vnto them: We that were euen now ashamed to put our heades out of the prison & darkenes we were in, to make sute for our owne aide & relieke, are become of such simplicitie, ỹ we presently desire to shewe vn-to Greace as a pleasant spectable, our infirmities and maimes, wherof we haue as much cause tobe ashamed, as to be sorowful. You must thinke ỹ such beare their miseries best, which can kind the meanes to hide them moste, & that there is none so familier a coūtrey to mē that be vnfortunate, as solitarines & forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they which make an accōpt of their frendes pitte & compassion, know not howe sone their teares wil drie vp, no creatures can loue faithf-fully whō thei abhore. For as calamitie of his nature is querelous, so felicitie is alwaies proude, and euery one doth vse to cōsider his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of an other mans: For except we had al bene in mikery, one of vs long ago had bene wery of an other. What meruayle is it then though mē in felicitie seke alwaies their equalles. My opinion is therefore that we as mē whiche longe ago were as dead in this like seke vs a place wherein we may hide our maimed members, & where as eryle maye hyde out horrible scarres. If we shall retourne into our countrey, beyng in thys case how-we can we but be vngrateful to our wyues whome we maried young. Or shall our childrē or our bre thren

Entymeons oracion.

They beinge here miserie best, wh ran hyde it moste.

The vnfortunate frinde feare frinde for Calamitie of nature is querelous, and felicitie is proude so that one is scorne worse of an other.

acknowledge

acknowledge vs beyng prison slaues: and though all thynges should there succede as we would wyshe, yet howe smal a numbre of vs be hable to trauaile through so many countreys: Howe is it possible for vs that be here banisshed into the vttermoste boundes of the Orient, aged, impotent, maimed, to suffre those thinges, whiche haue tyred men, that were in force and byctorious: It is to be axed what shall become of our wiues whom chaunce and necessitie hathe gotten vnto vs here, for the only comforte of our prysonement: what shal we do wyth our children we haue begotten heare: take them wyth vs, or leaue them behynde vs: If we returne wyth suche as we haue heare, none of those in Greece wyl acknowledge vs, and shall we then be so madde to leaue those comfortes we haue alreadye, beyng vncertayne whether we shal come to those we seke or no: Verely muche better it were for vs, to hyde our selues emonges them which haue bene acquainted wyth vs in our mysery. These were Eutymeon wordes: But Theatus of Athens, reasoned to the contrary. There is no creature (qd he) in whome remayneth eny sparke of honestye, that wyl esteame vs by our outward shape, seyng that our calamitie is not come of nature, or by our owne deseruyng, but through misfortune, and our enemies crueltie. Suche as be ashamed of fortunes chaūses, are well worthy to sukker misaduenture. They geue a greuous sentence vpon the estate of mans mortalitie, & dispaire much of mercy, that deny their cōpacion to mē in misery. Now therefore since ỹ goddes haue offered to you the thing whyche ye durste neuer haue wisshed for: that is your countrey, your wiues, & your childrē, being the thinges whiche men esteame more then life and redeame often

Theatus wordes.

They geue small hope of mercy, that deny compassion to suffre wo & misery.

tymes with death: why do you doubt for the enioymēt of those thynges to breake out of this imprisonement? I iudge the ayer of our owne countrey more natural to vs, where me thinkes is an other maner of liuyng, other customes other religion, & another tonge, which for ỹ pleasaūtnes is coueted of ỹ barbarous nacions. What great thynges then be those that ye would wyllingly leaue, ỹ want of which only is the cause of your misery. My opinion is playne ỹ we visite our cōtrey and our home, and not refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath profered vs. If eny be so detained with the loue of such wiues and children as they haue gottē here in seruitude, lette suche be no impedyment to others, that of all thinges esteame most their naturall countrey. There were but fewe of hys opinion, for custome that is of greater force then nature, preuailed in that matter. They agreyd to demaunde of Alexander ỹ gifte of some place to inhabite in, and there chose out an hundred to be suters vnto hym in that behalfe. When Alexander perceiued them comming towardes hym, thinking that they would haue required the thing that he conceiued in hys minde. I haue appointed to euery one of you (qd he) beastes to cary you, and a. M. Deneres, and when you shal come to Greace, I wil so much prouide for you, ỹ excepting your misfortune, no other shal think thē selues in better case thē you. But whē he sawe thē loke stil towardes ỹ ground, and ỹ they neither lifted vp their eies nor spake one word, he enquired ỹ cause of their heauines. Thē Entymeon rehearsed againe those things in effect which he had spoken before in counsaile. The king therfore pitying no lesse their demaūd, thē he did their misfortūe: cōmaunded .iii. M. deneres to be geuē to euery one of them, & garmentes

Off tymes custome preuailed against nature.

garmentes beſides, with cattell, and corne, whereby they might till and ſowe the lande that ſhoulde be appointed vnto them. The next day he aſſembled all the captaines of his armie togethers, and ſhewed thē that there was no citie more enemy to the Greakes, thē the ſame that was ỹ chiefe ſeate of the auncient kinges of Perce, from whence al the great armeis had bene ſent into Greace, and howe Darius firſt, and after Xerres had come out of that place to moue their vniuſt warre againſt Europe, wyth the deſtruction of which citie, he thought good to reueng their predeceſſours. The inhabiters had abandoned ỹ citie, & fled where feare did driue thē. Wherupon the king ſtreightwayes brought in al hys footemen to the ſpoyle therof. He had before that time wonne many cities, ſome by force, & ſome by compoſicion that were full of riches, & princes treaſure. But the aboundaūce of ỹ citie, dyd excede all the reſt, as in ỹ place where ỹ Perciās had layd their whole ſubſtaunce. Gold and ſiluer was there foūd in heapes, and great plenty of ryche veſtures and furnimentes of houſes, not only for neceſſitie and neceſſary vſe, but for exceſſe and oſtentacion: whiche was ſo great that it gaue the victorours occaſion to fyght emōges them ſelues. eche taking other for enemies that had gotten the rycheſt ſpoyle. The plenty there was ſuche, that they coulde not employe to their vſe the ryches they found, but when they ſawe thynges of value, eſtemed them rather then toke them away. Til ſuche time that euery one coueting, to haue a part of euery thyng, tare and brake a ſonder the princely robes, and the precious plate of curious worke mā ſhip, with ỹ Images of gold & ſyluer, whych were either beaten in gobettes or plucked in pieces, as euery one caught hold: nothing was lefte

The taking of Perſepolis.

Some tyme yod ꝓſagnitꝫ, exprſſe & verum oſtentaū, vel pcunia cumulū.

left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole: cruel-
tye bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euery
one was so laden with gold and siluer, that they esteа-
med not the keping of prisoners, but kylled suche as
thei firste spared in hope of gayne. There were manye
therefore that preuented their enemies handes wyth
voluntary death, & diuerse that clothing them selues
in their most precious apparaile, leaped downe frō the
walles wyth their wiues and chyldren. Certayne there
were that set their owne houses on fyre, (whyche they
iudgeth their enemies woulde els haue done shortely
after) because they would burne them selues emonges
their owne familie. At length the king did forbyd eny
violence to be done to women, and that no man should
meddle with eny thing pertayning to them. The some
of money taken wythin this citye, was greater then
eny man could wel credite: but eyther we must doubte
of the resle, or els beleue that hath bene lefte in memo-
ry, howe that the treasure there founde, amounted to
a hundred and twenty thousand talentes: which trea-
sure becsuse that Alexander purposed to employ in his
warres, caused horse and camels to be brought from
Susis and Babilon to cary the same. The takyng of
the citye of Persagadis wherin was founde fyue thu-
sand talentes, was an encrease to this summe, which
Citye beyng buylded by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Go-
bares that had the kepyng therof. Alexander lefte in
the castle of Persepolis, thre thousande Macedons
in guarison vnder Nycarides capitayne of the same,
and reserued to Tiridates that deliuered him the trea-
sure, the same honour that he enioyed with Darius.
Leauing in this citye the greater parte of his armye,
with hys cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and

The treasure taken at Persepolis.

Persagadis

Gobares.

Nycarides

Craterus

Craterus: he with a thousand horsemē and a band of footemen wythout eny baggage, wente to visite in the winter season, the in ward partes of Perce. There he was vexed & troubled wyth stormes & tēpestes ẏ were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to go forwardes in his enterprise to ẏ place ẏ he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a countrey that was couered all with snowe, and frosen by force of the great colde. The wyldnes and desert maner therof, put the souldiers that were wery of trauaile in suche a feare & terrour, that they ymagined to haue sene the vttermoste boundes of the world. For when they beheld al thinges wast, and no signe appearing of mans habitacion, they were amased, & made requeste to retourne againe, before that the light and the elementes should faile thē. The king would not chastice thē being in this terrour, but leaped frō his horse, and went on fote in the snow and the ice. Which thing when his frendes sawe, they could not for shame but folow, then ẏ capitaines did ẏ like, and finally the souldiers. The kyng was ẏ first ẏ did breake ẏ ice and made him selfe a way, whose ensample the reste did folowe. At length hauing passed the woodes that were wythout way, thei found here & there some appearaunce of habitacion, and perceyued flockes of shepe. When the inhabytours that dwelled in cotages dispackled there aboutes, saw men cōming whome they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had ben enclosed about, slew such as were not hable to folowe them, and fledde to the wyld mountaines that were ful of snowe. But at length by cōmunicatiō with such as thei toke prisoners, their wildnes was somwhat mitigated, & they yelded them selues to Alexāder, whō he hurted not eny kind of way. Whē he had destroied all that

Mitigated.

The wardons.

al that parte of Perce & brought the tounes vnder his obedience. He came into ỹ coũtrey of ỹ warlike Wardons, which differed much frõ the reſt of ỹ other Percians in their maner of liuing. They with their wiues and children dyd inhabite within caues in the mountaines, and liued wyth the fleſhe of ſhepe, & wyld beaſtes. Nor the women according to their kind had eny more appearaũce of meknes or mildnes then the mẽ, either in theyr perſonages or diſpoſitions. But their curled heere did hang downe before vpon their faces, and their garmentes came but to their knee. The bãdes of their ſlinges wer fillettes for their foreheades wyche they vſed both for ornamente, and for defence. Thys nacion for all their vnciuill and rude maner, could not eſcape to be ſubdued with the ſame force of fortune ỹ others were. So ỹ the .xxx. daie after he departed from Perſepoles, he returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to hys frendes, and to al the reſte according to their deſeruing, diſtributing in maner al the ryches whyche he founde wythin that cytie. But al his excellent vertues of the mind, hys princely qualities wherin he excelled al kinges, both that conſtancy in al daungers and perilles, that celeritie in deuiſing and perfourmyng his enterpriſes, hys promyſe keaping towardes the polden, hys clemency towardes priſoners, and that temperaũce in lawful and accuſtomable pleaſures: were all defaced throughe the intollerable deſire & delite he had in drinking. For notwithſtanding that his enemie which cõtended with him for thempire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his powre togethers. And al houghe ỹ people newly conquered had not yet receyued quiet ſubiection, yet he gaue him ſelfe cõtinually to feaſting and

Thyrd ouerſyght of Iuſtin remembryng Dionyſius and Plinius ſette an Aſſyrite ſtorie out of ſeaſon.

and banqueting, where wome were euer present, not such to who men had respect of honestie, but harlotes which had there more libertie, then was beseming in ỳ cõpany of mẽ of warre. Emonges thẽ there was one Thays, who vpõ a daie in her dronkẽnes, affirmed to Alexander ỳ he should wonderfully winne the fauour of the Greakes, if he would commaund the palaice of Persepolis to be set on fire. The destruction wherof (she said) they greatlye desired, forsomuch as the same was the chiefe Seate of the kinges of Perse, which in tymes paste had destroyed so many great Cities. Whẽ the dronken harlot had geuen her sentence, there were other present who being likewise drõken, cõfirmed her wordes. Alexander then that had in him more enclinacion of heate then of pacience, said, whi do we not then reuenge Greace, and set this Citie on fire. They were al chafed with drinking ẽ, rose immediatly vpon those wordes to burne that citie in their dronkennes, whiche the men of warre had spared in their furye. The king him selfe kyndle, and after his geastes, his seruauntes ẽ, hys cõcubines set fier in the palaice, whych being buil-ded for the most parte of Cedre trees, became sodeinly in a flame. When the army that was encamped nere vnto the citie saw the fire, which they thought had ben kendled by some casualty, came running to quench the same againe. But when thei sawe ỳ king there present nourishinge of the fire, they powred downe the water whych they brought, and healped likewyse the matter forwardes. Thus the palaice that was the heade of the whole Orient, from whence so many nacions be-fore had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the seate of so many kinges ỳ only terror somtyme of Greace, the same

Thays. that notable harlot. yt wd alwaies seme, to worke all gemin ill to gine Counsell.

The furye of men of warre, is not so damageous as the beastlie rage of dronkard.

The destruc-cion of Per-sepolis.

same that hath bene the sender forth of the Nauies of ix. thousand shippes, & of the armies that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, and vndermined mountaynes where the sea hath nowe his course: was consumed and had his end & neuer rose againe in al the age that did ensue. For the kinges of Macedon vsed other cyties which be now in the Persyans handes. The destruction of this citie was such that the foundacion thereof at this daye coulde not be found, but that the riuer of Araxes doth shew where it stode. which was distant from Persepolis. xx. furlōges as ỹ inhabitauntes rather do beleue then know. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a Citie was destroied by their king in his drōkennes: yet at length it was tourned into an earnest matter, and were content to thinke it expedient that the Citie should haue bene destroied after that maner. But it is certayne that when Alexander had taken his reste, and was become better aduised, he repented him of his doing and sayed: That the Persians should haue doone the Greakes more harme, if, it had ben his chaunce to haue raigned in Xerxes sted. The next daie he gaue. xxx. talentes for a rewarde to hym that was hys guide into Perce, and from thence he toke his iourney into Media, where a new supplie of souldiers (of whome Plato of Athens had the conduccion) came to him out of Cilicia, beyng. v.c. fotemē & a thousand horsemen. wherē he had by this meanes encreased hys powre, he determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana the head citie of Media, & was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented bi the spede his enemies made, altered his purpose and

Media.

Ecathana

and his iourney. Alexãder was not come nere him by a.M.v.c.fourlõges, but he culd not thinke eny distãce sufficient to defend him against his celeritie, & therefore prepared him self rather to fight then tofle. He had wt hym .xxx.M. footemen, emonges whõ there were iiii.M. greakes, whose fidelitie neuer fayled in al hys aduerse fortune. He had also. iiii.M. archers & Slingers beſydes. iii.M. iii.c. Bactrian horſemen, whyche were vnder Beſſus charge, beyng gouernour both of the citie of Bactria, and the countrey, Darius with his bande withdrue a little from the highe waye, and commaundyng the berlets wt ſuch as hadde charge of the cariage to paſſe on before, called a coũſayle and ſpake theſe wordes vnto them. If fortune had matched me wyth cowardes, and wyth ſuche as eſtemed eny kynd of lyfe, before an honeſt death, I woulde rather haue holden my peace, thẽ cõſume my wordes in vaine. But I haue had greater experience then I woulde wiſhe, both of your valiaunt courage and fidelitie towardes me. So ỹ I for my parte ought rather labour to ſeme worthy to haue ſuch frendes as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remayne the ſame men towardes me ỹ ye were before. For of ſo many thouſandes ỹ were vnder mine Empire, you only haue folowed & ſticked by me, when I was twiſe ouerthrowen in ỹ field, and twyſe enforced to flye away. Your fidelitie & your cõſtancy maketh me thinke that I remayne ſtill a kyng. Traitours and fugytiues reigne in my cities, not for that they be thought worthy of ſuche honour, but they you myght be prouoked by their rewardes to reuolt againſt me. Notwithſtanding, you haue choſen rather to folowe me in my miſfortune, then be partakers of the victorers

Darius & feareth Alexanders celeritie.

Darius wordes

victoryes felicitie. You are worthy, whom the Goddes ſhall reward (if I may not) as vndoubtedly they wyl: There can no poſteritie be ſo ſilent, nor no fame ſo vngratefull, whiche ſhall not wyth due commendacions extole you to ỹ ſtarres. Though I was determined ſtil to haue fledde, whereunto my harte neuer agreed: yet nowe I haue conceiued ſuche a truſte of your vertue & mãhode, ỹ I purpoſe to paſſe againſt mine enemies. Howe long ſhall I be as a baniſhed mã wythin myne owne dominion, & flye frõ a ſtraunge & a forein prince within the boundes of mine owne kingdome: Whẽ I may bi haſarding of the battaile, either recouer that I haue loſte, or els dye an honeſt death: Except paraduẽture it ſemeth better to ſome mẽ, that I ſhould ſubmit my ſelf to my enemies will, & by the enſample of Mazeus & Mithrenes, receyue by petition the dominion of ſome one nacĩõ: wherin I iudge that Alexãder had rather folowe thinclinacion of hys glorie then of hys wrath. No, let the gods neuer graunte that it may lye in eny mans powre, eyther to take awaye or giue vnto me this Dyadeame vpõ my heade, nor that I loſe this Empire ſo long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined that my life and my kingdome ſhall ende both togither. If this mynde remaine likewiſe in you, and if this law be graffed in your hartes, there is non of you ỹ can want libertie, there is none that ſhal be cõpelled to endure ỹ vnkeſomnes of your enemies, neither their proud porte, nor their ſtately lokes. Euerye mans right hand ſhal thẽ giue vnto him ſelfe either a reuenge or an end of al theſe euils. Nothing cã ſtand longe in one ſtay. I my ſelfe am enſample of ỹ alteracion of fortune, & therfore it is not without cauſe that I loke for a better chaunge. And if the worſt fall, ỹ the

Irkſomnes, proud port, ſtately lokes.

goddes

gods wil neades be against vs in oure warres that be lawful and honest yet it cannot be taken from vs but that we may alwaye mankully and honestly dye. I require and make intercessiō to you by the honour of our predecessours that with such fame and glory possessed ẏ kingdomes of ẏ whole Oriēt by those mē to whome Macedon sometyme was tributarie, by so manye nauies of shippes sēt into Greace, & by so many victories wonne, that ye wyll take such courage and harte vnto you, as may seme worthy your nobilitie and your nacion. So that wyth the same constancie of minde wherwith ye haue endured thynges paste, ye wyll proue and attempt whatsoeuer fortune sende to you hereafter. I am resolued for my parte to get my selfe perpetuall fame, either by the victory or by the notable aduenture I wyll giue for the winninge thereof. When Darius had spoken these wordes, the representacion of the presente peril so amased theim all, that they were not able either shewe to their aduyse, or to speake a word to that matter, til such tyme as Artabazus the most aunciente of his frendes (which before tyme had bene wyth king Philip) begā to say his cātacie: We are come into the feld (qd he) with you that is our king, in our moste precious apparaile, and richest armour, with the entent to winne ẏ victorie, and if necessitye require, not to refuse death. To whose wordes al the rest with their voice seamed to agre, sauyng Nabarzanes who being presente in that counsell wyth Bessus and of hys opinion, conspired a treason so wōderful, that the like hath seldome bene hard of before. Their determinacion was by force of ẏ souldiers they had vnder theyr charge to put their king in hold, wyth thys purpose, that if Alexander pursued them to deliuer him then alue into his handes, to Artabazus.

wyn therby his fauour, as a thing which they thought he would esteame greatly. But if they could escape cõueniently, then they were in mynde to kil Darius, and deuiding the kyngdome betwixte them, renue agayne the warre against the Macedons. They hauinge imagened this treasõ long before in theyr mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occasion to make a preparatiue to hys wycked intent, by a persuasion whiche he there vttered. I knowe (qd he) that I shall speake the thyng which in the first appearaũce shal not be gratefull vnto youre eares, but phesicions vse to cure diseases that be great, wyth sharpe & bitter medicines. And the shipmaisters when they feare a shipwrack, accustome to redeame such thinges as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet thys matter ỹ I meane is no persuacion to losse, but a deuice by what meanes ye may preserue your selfe and youre kyngdome. We make a warre wherin the goddes seame manifestly to be against vs, & fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue vs. It is nedefull therfore that we lay new foũdacions, & seeke out men whiche haue other fortune. My opinion is therfore, that you deliuer vp your kyngdom vnto some mans handes, which shal haue the name of king, so longe as your enemies remaine within Asya. And when they be once departed (whych my mind geueth me to be shortly) he shal restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched: ỹ Indians & Sacans be at your appointment, so many people, so many armies, so many thousãdes of horsme and fotemẽ, haue their force in redines to renue thys warre againe. So ỹ a muche greater force remayneth then ỹ which is cõsumed. Why do we then like beastes wylfully runne to a destruction that is not necessarie:

The worlde now a dayes wante commyng women to loke vpon deuyses attempte.

It

It is the propertie of suche as be men of courage, rather to despise death then hate the life, and oftentimes by wearines of trauayle, cowardes are driuen to take little reguarde of them selues. But vertue leaueth nothynge vnprouided. And death beynge the ende of all thynge, it is sufficiēt if we go not to it like slaggardes. Therefore if we shal go vnto Bactria whyche is now our nexte refuge: let vs for the tymes sake make Bessus kynge, who is alreadye ruler of that' countrey, and when the matters be once broughte to some staye, he shal restore to you the empire againe, as to the ryghteouse king. Although Darius perceiued not the greatnes of the mischiefe that lay hidden vnder hys wicked wordes, yet was it no maruayle thoughe he coulde not abstayne, for he tourned towardes hym, and saide: thou vyle slaue, hast thou nowe founde out a tyme mete to disclose the treason that lieth in thy harte: and therewithall pulled out hys sworde to haue slayne hym, if Bessus and the other Bactrians aboute hym hadde not letted hys purpose. They pretendyd to be sorye for the matter, but mindid in very dede to bynde hym, if he hadde continued in hys purpose. In the meane season Nabarzanes escaped awaye, and Bessus folowed after: who immediately dyd seperate ỹ bādes they had charge, of from the rest of the armye, because they woulde vse them aparte to their purpose. When they they were departed Artabazus framed his talke accordynge to the estate of the tyme then presente, and beganne to pacifie Darius wyth wordes puttyng him in remembraunce howe hys case was suche, that it behoued hym to beare quietlye, the folishnes or rather the errour of his owne men: For asmuche as Alexander was at hand, ouer sore an enemy for thē thoughe there were no discord nor disobedience. But if we shalbe at

Darius did lye
Emagyn trulie,
for he wold a
wyle treato; &
also Bessus his
Companion.

variaūce (qd he) when he doth pursue vs, our matters shal stand in very euyl plight. Thereupon Darius enclined somewhat to Artabasus aduise, A though he was determined to remoue, yet because he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remained stil in the same place. But he hym selfe was so astonyed wyth sorowe and desperacion, that he kept him selfe close and came not forth of hys pauilion, Wherupon the campe being wythout gouerment, the heades not consultinge together as they did before, there rose emonges them great diuersitie of opinions, and mocions of mynd. Whyche thynge when Patron sawe that was capitayne of the Greake souldiers, he wylled hys men to put on their armoure, to be in a redines to do as they shoulde be appointed. The Persians encamped by them selues, and Bessus remayned emonges the Bactrians, practising to cary away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifiynge to them, the ryches of that region yet vntouched, and the perill they were in, if they remayned styll. But they were all in maner of one opinion, that it was ouer greate an offence for them to forsake theyr prince. In the meane season, Artabasus executed the kynges office, and went emonges the Persians in theyr lodgynges, admonishyng and exhorting theym, sometyme aparte, and otherwhyle altogethers, and woulde neuer leaue theym, before it appeared that they woulde do as the kynge woulde haue theym.

Patron.

That done wyth greate payne and difficultye he persuaded Darius to take hys meate, and to set hys mynd vpon hys busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were so gredy to get the gouerment into their handes, that they resolued to putte in execucion the thynge they hadde longe conspired betwixte theym. For so longe

Ambition sutge a royall monte, and a gredie pmyse.

as

as Darius was in sauegard, they could not hope to cõ=passe nor atteine so great power and auctorite: the ma=iestie of a king is had in so great veneracion emonges those nacions: at whose only name they assemble toge=ther, and the reuerẽce vsed to them in their prosperitie, cause men to shewe them the like obedience in aduer=sitye. The greatnes and power of the coũtryes where=of Bessus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not beynge inferior to eny other nacions in that part of the world, either men in, in furniture, or largenes of they terri=tory, gaue a greate encourage vnto their wicked dispo=sicions in attemptinge of this matter. For they posses=syng the thyrd part of Asia, were able to make as great numbre of men, as Darius before had loste. In confi=dence wherof they not only dispised Darius, but Aler=ander him selfe, purposinge when they were once be=come lordes of that countrey, to reenforce from thence againe the powre of thempire, & mainteine ỹ warres a=gaynst the Macedons. When they had long deuised, & debated these thynges, they determined to take Dari=us by ỹ Bactriã souldiers, of whom thei had the rule, & then to send word to Alexãder that they reserued hym on lyue, to deliuer hym vnto hys handes. And if so be that Alexander should not accept their doing, (whyche in dede they doubted (thẽ their purpose was to kil Da=rius, and with their power to flie into Bactria. But for somuch as they sawe, that Darius could not be taken openly, seing there were so many thousandes ready to ãide him. And fearinge also the fidelitye of the Grea=kes, determined to worcke by sleighte, the thynge that they coulde not brynge to passe by force. They deuyse was to counterfeit a repentaunce of they former do=ynges, in excusing vnto the kinge the feare they were

The Persians & euen Kynge in great veneration.

Reenforce

When force can not preuaile, then policie and dis=emulacion must be vsed in deede.

fn. And in the meane season thei sent certaine to prac-
tise wyth the Persians, and to proue theyr myndes.
The souldiers were tossed to and fro wyth hoope and
feare. Sometime they thought that by leuing of their
kyng, they should commit them selues to manyfest ru-
yne and destruction: and agayne they remẽbred what
entertainemente was promised theim in Bactria that
lay open for them, where they should be receyued wyth
such giftes and ryches as they could not wel imagen.
Whiles Bessus & Nabarzanes were beating of these
thinges in their heades, Artabasus came vnto theim,
declaring, how Darius was wel pacified, and that they
myght if they woulde, be in the same estate and degree
with hym that they were in before. Therupon they fel
to weapyng and purgynge of them selues, requirynge
Artabazus that he woulde take vpon hym the defence
of their cause, and carye their request and submission
vnto the kyng. The night was consumed in this kind
of busines. When it was daye Nabarzanes wyth the
Bactrian souldiers stoode at the entrey of the kynges
lodging, colouring his preuy treason wyth a solempne
pretence of doing his dutye. Darius caused warninge
to be giuen for his remoue, and so mounted vpon hys
charlote after his accustomed maner. Nabarzanes a
the other traytours fel vpon the ground to worshippe
him, and shed teares in token of repentaunce, notwith
standing that they determined shortly after to put him
in fetters: mens nature is so apte to dyssimulacion.
Darius beinge of a simple and gentle nature, was en-
forced through their behauour not only to beleue ꝑ thei
pretẽded, but also caused him to weape for ioye: yet that
could not cause the traitours to alter ther purpose, whẽ
they perceiued what kynd of man, and what maner of
prince

Contemned & vanquished men to forget their duty to god & man.

Terrible threatninges to the traytours, to make them more diligent to execute their deuyse to effect.

Mans nature is apt to dissemble.

prince they went aboute to deceiue. Darius doubtyng nothing of hys peril that was nexte at hande, made all the haste he could not escape Alexander, whom he only doubted. Patron that was captaine of the Greacians commaunded hys souldiers to put on theyr harneys, whyche they caried before in trusses, and to be readye and attempt to euery thynge that should be appoynted them. For he vnderstandyng the treason that Bessus went about, folowed the kinges chariot seking occasiō to speake wyth hym. And Bessus doubtynge the same thing, woulde not depart from the chariot, but folowed rather as a watche, then a wayter. Patron therefore haunge taried long, and interrupted oftentymes as he was about to speake, stode in a staye betwixte feare and fidelitye, beholdyng the kynge in the face. When Darius perceiued that he beheld hym after that ma- Mota.
ner he wylled Bubace his Enuche that rode next him, B. bace.
to enquyre of Patron if he hadde eny thinge to saye to hym. Patron sayde ye, but his matter was suche as he woulde no man shoulde heare. Then he was wyl- led to come neare, and wythout eny interpretour. (Da- rius vnderstandyng somwhat of Greake tongue) Pa- Patrons wordes to Darius.
tron sayde vnto hym: Syr of fyftye thousande Grea- kes that serued you, there is a smale numbre of vs re- mayning whyche haue continually folowed you in all fortunes, bearyng vnto you the same fidelitie & affec- tion, that we did in your moost flouryshynge estate. And are determined whersoeuer you be to take that for our countrey and home, bothe prosperitie, and aduersitye hath so coupled vs together. By whyche inuincible fi- delitie that is in vs, I desire and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within oure campe, and suf- fer vs to be the guarde of your persone. We haue losse

Greace, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, al our hope is in you, & God graunte that al other mē had the like. It is not necessary I should speake eny more, nor would not demaunde the custody of your persone being an alien and a straunger, if I knewe that others were wel mynded towardes you. Although Bessus was ignoraunt of the Greake toungue, yet his cōscience pricked him to beleue that Patrō had disclosed some such matter, & therefore caryng away some part of his wordes, by a greake interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his cōtenaunce, enquired of Patrō, what moued him to geue him such aduise. Wherupon he thoughte not good to deferre it eny lenger, but said: Bessus & Nabarzanes worke treasō agaynst you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreame perill, and this daye shalbe the last either to the traitours, or to you: whose wordes if Darius had well wayed & regarded, Patron had receiued great glory of the preseruaciō of his prince. But let them mocke that list, whych be persuaded ỹ thestate of man is gouerned at aduenture & by chaunce, but I beleue that euery mā runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlastyng appointment, by a knitting together of causes vnknowen appointed longe before. Darius aunswere was: that although the fidelite of the Greake souldiers was sufficientlye knowen vnto him, yet he was determined neuer to depart from his own nacion, by whom though he might be deceiued, yet it was harde for him to mistrust them: whatsoeuer should chaūce to hym he sayd, he was minded rather to suffer it emonges hys owne subiectes, then to parte awaye from them, not desiryng to lyue if hys owne souldiers desired not his sauegarde. Wherupon Patron dysparynge of the kynges

A yll tyme ronfrieme vō full of suspicion. & smyle and a traytour can some full lyst their treason, sonbil le vnwares.

Darius aunswere vnto Patron.

Good counsell vō' oft tymes litle estemed.

Nothinge votte happen by fortune vnlesse but all thinge are gouerned by gods prouidence.

kings wel doyng, returned thē of whō he had ꝟ charge ready to aduēture eny thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to slea Darius, but fearyng that he coulde wynne Alexanders fauour except he deliuered his enemy into his hādes aliue, deferred his purpose til the night folowing. In ꝟ meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him thankes that he had so warely and with such wisedome auoyded the treason of that false Grecian, who beyng corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but howe to make a preset of his head: wherat (he saied) he could not marueile that a mercenary man should leaue eny thing vndone for money, beyng without eny pledge of his honesty, wout house & home, banished out of the worlde, a faint frend, and a doubtfull enemye, tossed here and there at the backe of al men, that wil corrupt him. And thē he fel to purgyng of him selfe, calling the Gods of his cōtrey to witnes of his innocencye in the matter. Darius by his cōtenaūce semed to beleue him, yet he doubted not of the truth of the tale ꝟ Patron had tolde him, but he was come to suche a pointe, that it was as daungerous for him not to beleue his owne menne, as to be deceyued. There were .xxx. thousand whose liues was feared to haue cōsented to this conspiracye: and Patron had but foure thousande, to whom if he had committed his safeguarde, & thereby condempned the fidelitie of his owne nacion, he saw ꝟ thē they might haue had therof a goodly colour and a pretence, to perfourme the thing they went about, and therfore chose rather to be killed innocentlye, then to geue enye occasion whereby he shoulde seme to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged him selfe, he aunswered: that he knewe there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhode, and

Treators are ready to annoye ye true subiecte.

The wicked will not stirre to frowarde for frowarde.

Damned gaue ye woorke by ye carde.

and that they were deceiued that loked for eny reward of treason at his handes knowyng that there was no surer punisher nor reuenger of the breache of fidelitye. When the night drewe neare, the Persians after their accustomed maner put of their armoure, and repayred to the next villages, to prouide thinges necessarye. But the Bactrians (as Bessus had commaũded them) stode styll armed. In the meane season Darius had sent for Artabasus, and shewed hym what Patron had declared. Whereupon Artabasus made no doubte, but that he shoulde streyghtwayes committe hym selfe emong the Greakes, thinkyng that the Persians whē the kinges peryll shoulde be published abroade, woulde ioyne wyth the Grecians. Yet Darius predestinate to his chaunce, could not beare thē eny wholesome coũsel, nor sought for eny helpe in that case, but imbraced Artabazus, as thoughe he shoulde neuer see him more, and beyng wette with the teares that one of them lette fall vpon an other, caused Artabazus to be remoued from him, and because he woulde not see his sorowe in departynge from hym, he couered his face, and fell flatte vpon the ground. Thē such as were accustomed to the guard of his person, which should haue ben his defēce in all peryls, fledde awaye, thinkyng them selues ouer weake for suche a numbre of armed men, as they supposed to be commynge. Then there was great solitarines wythin his lodgynge, for none remayned about the kyng, but a fewe Enukes, that had no place to repaire vnto. Then he debated and deuised with hym selfe alone, sometyme one thing, and sometyme another, and by and by he wared werye of that solitarines whiche before he toke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and saied: Go prouide for your

Darius' mar of a kynde mynde disposicion, yet could not rule his not reyne sodenly, so that we maye see enuye vnbrest to surmount god & stall stink.

your selues, which accordyng to your duties haue bene true to your Prince till the last houre. Here I do tarye for the fatall lawe of my destenye. Peraduenture ye do maruaile that I do not ende mine owne life. I had rather dye through other mens wickednes, then by mine owne. After those woordes Bubace fylled bothe the kinges lodgyng and also the whole campe with mournyng and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearyng their clothes, bewayled his case wyth a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Perciãs, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armoure, lest they myghte geue occasion to the Bactrians to sette vpon them, nor thei could not remayne quiet, lest they might seme so wyckedlye to leaue their kyng. There were clamours throughout the Campe of diuers sortes and tunes, wythout enye heade, and wythout eny appoyntment. Suche as parteyned to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceyued by suche lamentation as they hearde, brought tydynges to the reste, that the kyng hadde killed him selfe. Wherupon they repayred thither so faste as they could gallop, & such folowed after as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischiefe. When they were entred into the kinges pauiliõ, because the Emukes declared that he was on lyue, they cõmaunded him to be bounde. Thus he whiche before was caried in a chariot and honored of his men like a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruauntes without eny foreyne power, and put into a vile carte couered ouer with beastes skynnes: & spoyle was made of the kinges stuffe, in such sort, as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden them selues with the pray gotten after, so foule a maner, they conueyed them selues into their countreys. But Artabazus with those of whom he

Darius taken prisoner by Bessus and Nabarzanes.

Nota.

he had the charge, and with the Greake souldiers, toke the way towardes Parthina, thinkyng to be more sure eny where, thē in the felowshyp of those traytours. The Persians whom Bessus had burdened with so manye faire promises, specially bicause they had no other man to folow, ioyned them selues to the Bactrians, and the thyrde daye ouertoke them. But to the entent Darius shold not wāt such honour as was due vnto his estate, Bessus caused him to be bounde with golden fetters: suche were the despites that hys Fortune made hym subiect vnto. And for that he shoulde not be knowen by his apparaile, they couered the cart with foule hides of beastes, & caused vnknowen men to driue it forwardes And lest by enquerye in the army he myght be discouered, suche as had the charge of him folowed a farre of. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoued to Echatane, he left the way that he was in, and wyth all the spede he coulde make, folowed after Darius ỹ was saied to be gone into Media. But whē Alexander was come to Taba, whiche is the chiefe citye of Paratacen, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius campe, how he was fled with al spede into Bactria. And afterwardes vnderstode the matter more certeinlye by Bagistenes of Babilon, who coulde not affirme directly ỹ Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but declared that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitye. Alexander vpon those newes called hys Captaynes together, and shewed them that he had a great enterprice, but such one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he saied) was not farre of, forsaken of his owne men, and either taken as a prisoner or els slaine. In whose persone he shewed their whole victorye to consiste, and the greatnes of the matter, to be rewarde

Taba. Paratacen

ſufficient of their haſte making. They all cried wyth one voice that they were redy to folowe him where he would go.and that he ſhuld neither ſpare their labour nor their perill. Wherupon he cõueied hys army forwardes with merueylous ſpeade, rather in poſte, then after the common ordre of marching, neither reſting daye nor night till they had paſſed.v.c. furlonges,and come to the village where Darius was taken. There Welun Darius Interpetour, who by reaſon of hys ſicknes could not folowe the army,was taken through Alxanders celeritie: who faynyng that he fledde awaye from hys maiſter,declared the whole matter,but how great ſo euer his deſire was to ouertake his enemies, it was neceſſary for hym to giue his men reſt of their trauayle. So that determining to leaue the reſte of his army behinde. did choſe out ſixe thouſand horſemen, and added to them .iii. c. called Dimichas, that were fotemen heauy harniſed, but yet ryding on horſback, and whē the matter and place required lyghted and fought on foote. When Alexander was takyng order about theſe thinges, Orſellus and Mithracenes which for the hatred they bare to Beſſus for hys treaſon, fledde from hym, declaring to the kynge that the Perſians were but. v. c. furlonges of, and profered to guide hym by a nearer waye. Their comming was gratefull to the kinge, for by their conduction in the begynning of the night, he toke his iourney with ſuch horſemen as he had appointed,willing his fote battaile to folowe after wyth all ſpede poſſible. He marched forwardes in a ſquare battayle, and kept ſuche an ordre that the fyrſte might ioyne wyth the laſte, and ſuch as came behind,releue them that went before. When thei had paſſed.ccc. furlonges on their way. Broculus the ſonne

Welun.

Broculus.

sonne of Mazeus that sometyme hadde bene gouernour of Siria met Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within two hundred furlonges, marching with his men out of all ordre, as one that did caste no doubtes. It semed to him (he said) that thei went towardes Hircania, wherfore if haste were made, thei might sone be ouertaken, and founde dispersed here & there, out of al araye. And by reasō he affirmed also that Darius was yet aliue. Alexander ỹ was hote before in his pursuite, was wt his wordes much more pricked forwards, so ỹ he caused them put spores to their horses, and passed forwardes a gallop, goyng so farre forth, that they myghte heare the noise of their enemyes as they marched. But the duste that dyd ryse dymmed their sight. and therefore he stayed a while, tyl the duste was vanished awaye. Then bothe Bessus perceyued the Macedons, and they sawe the Persians as they fled. Not withstanding thei had not ben hable to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betraie his maister. For besides that they exceded the Macedons in nombre and powre, thei forweried and sore traueyled, should haue hadde to do with them that were lustie and freshe. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put thē in such feare, that thei could not staye them selues. Then Bessus and other that were parteners of the cōspiracy, came to ỹ carte where Darius was, & persuaded him to leape on horsebacke, and flie from hys enemies that were at hande. But he cryng out ỹ the Gods were come to his reuenge and calling for the assistaunce of Alexander, said: that in no wyse he woulde go with traitours: wherewyth they were so slurred to wrath, that they threw dartes at hym

Darius. wounded. to death

and

and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the beastes also that drew the cart, to thintent they should not be able to passe forwardes, and slew his two seruauntes that did waite vpon him. Whē they had cōmitted this act, they thought it expedient to disperse them selues in their flyynge. And so Nabarzanes toke the waye to Hircania, and Bessus to Bactria, wyth a few horsemen that eche of them had in their company. When their souldiours were forsaken of their Capitaynes, they scatered here and there, where hope and feare did leade theim. There were onelye. v. c. horsemen which assēbled them selues together, & stode in a māmoryng whether it were better to resiste or to flie. Alexander vnderstandyng the feare his enemies were in, sente Nycanor before with parte of his horsemen to kepe theim occupied, and he wyth the reste folowed after. There were slayne to the number of. iii. M. of suche as stode at their defence, and the rest were driuē in flockes like beastes, from ye slayng of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abstayne. Emonges all the prisoners, there was none ye was able to shewe the cart that carted Darius, for euery one was so desirous to fynde hym, that as they sawe eny carte, they sought hym therin, and yet they could perceyue by no meanes where he was become. Alexāder made such haste, that scarsely. iii. M. horsmen folowed him of all his nūbre, but the great nōbre of the Persiās fell into their lappes that folowed behynde. It is scarsely credible to be beleued, that there shoulde be more prisoners taken, then there were men to take thē. But fortune in that feare hadde so taken awaye their sence, that they coulde not consider their owne multitude, nor the small numbre of

Mammoring

their

their enemyes. In the meane season the beastes that drew Darius wagon, hauyng no man to gouerne thē, were swarued out of the highe waye: and wanderyng here and there, had drawen Darius four furlonges frō the place he was woūded, into a baley where they fainted, by reason of their heate and their hurtes. There was a spryngе at hande, which certaine that knewe the countrey had shewed to Polistratus a Macedon, that was ouercome for thirst. And whiles he was drinkyng water out of his helmnet he spied the beastes that were thruste in with dartes, and marueilyng that they were not rather caried awaye, then hurt after that maner. He loked and found in the foule carte the body of a mā halfe aliue, & at length perceyued it was Darius that lay there sore wounded, & drawyng of his breath. Then Polistratus brought to him a Persian whome he had taken prisoner. Whom when Darius knewe by hys voyce, to be of his coūtrey, saied: that he toke it for a cōfort of his present fortune, that he should speake before he died, to one that vnderstode hym, and not vtter his last wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexāder, that though he had neuer deserued eny thing at his handes yet it was his chaunce to die greatly his debtiour, and had great thanks to geue him, for the fauoure and goodnes that he had shewed towardes his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely graunted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas he of his kynsmen and frendes, to whom he had geuen bothe life and landes, was now by thē bereued of all. He prayed therfore that he might alwayes be victorour, and that the empyre of the whole worlde myght come vnto his handes, requiryng

Polistratus

The message that Darius sent to Alexander before his death was not only thankfull, but also lamentable.

ring that he would not neglect to take reuẽgeaũce of so foule an act, not only for his cause, but for ensample and the loue of other princes: whych should be a thing honourable vnto him and profitable in time cõmyng. When he had spoken these wordes he fainted, & calling for water, after he had dronke, said to Polistratus that presented it vnto him. Whatsoeuer thou arte, thys is vnto me the last misery in al my aduerse chaunce, that I am not able to requite the this benefite. But Alexãder shal rewarde the, & the goddes shal requite him for his great humanite and clemencye shewed towardes mine. Vnto whom, in my behalfe thou shalte geue my hand as a pledge of a kings promise. And hauing spoken these wordes, and geuen Polistratus his hande, he died. When his sayinges were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corse lay, and there bewayled with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and takinge of hys owne cloke to couer the dead coorse withal adorned the same withal thynges that pertained to a king, & sente it to his mother Sisigambis to be buried, in such sort as the coũtrey maner was to bury kings, and to be layd emonges the rest of his predecessours.

A miserable death for so great a monarche, forsoke all thinge & come to ende according to the will of god.

(.*.)

Here the first parte of the fyrst booke doth want, wherin was conteyned the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparac on of both nacions to the battaile that was tought betwixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenaunt in Macedonia and Agis, kyng of the Lacedemonians.

(.*.)

The sixte boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander, Kyng of Macedon.

(c)

The batayle betwyxt Agys kynge of Lacedemon and Antipater lieutenãt in Macedonia.

HE preased forwardes where the fight was most daungerous, and sleyng suche as made moste resistaũce, put the greater part of hys enemies to flyght. Thẽ such as were victorours before began to flye, tyl they hadde drawen their enemies gredely folowyng thẽ, out of ỹ streitgh into a more plaine ground. In the retire manye of them were slaine, but when they had once recouered such a ground wher as they might stay and fal in order, the battailes ioyned equally agayne on both sides. Emonges thẽ al, the king of the Lacedemonians appeared mooste notable in all mens eyes, not so muche by the bewtye of his armour and goodly personage, as through the greatnes of his courage, wherein only he coulde not be ouercome. He was layd to on al partes, both neare hande, and a farre of. Yet for al that, he endured longe in armes againste his enemies, auoyding their strokes part wyth hys target, and part wyth hys bodye, till suche tyme as he was thrust through both thighes with a speare, whẽ by great effucion of bloude he was not able eny longer to endure the fyghte: Then the esquiers for his bodye toke hym vp vpon his target, and caried him into their cãp, that with greate payne endured the sturrynge of hys woundes. The Lacedemonians for all their kynges departure, gaue not ouer the fyght, but assone as they could recouer eny grounde of aduauntage, they closed them selues in battaile together, and receyued stowtlye their

their enemies that came ful vpon them. There is not found in eny memorye, of a battaile more vehemently fought then that, wher the armies of two nations that were most excellent in the warres contēdid togethers, for the victory not yet enclining to eny part. The Lacedemonians called to mynde ther auncient manhode and prowes, and the Macedons considered their present estimacion they had in the world. The Lacedemonians striued for their libertie, and the Macedons for the souereintie. The one partie lacked a capteine, and the other rowme to fighte in. The manifolde aduentures and chaunces that fell that daye, encreased both the hope and feare of bothe parties: fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valiaunt men to fighte togethers neyther of them preuailyng vpon other. But the streghtnes of the place wherein they foughte, did not suffre thē to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and suche as stode wythout daunger, encouraged the other w̄ their crie. At lengthe ỳ Lacedemonians began to faynt, & scarsly able for sweating to susteine their armour, beganne to drawe backe, to haue the more libertie to fle from their enemies that preased sore vpon theym. When they were once broken and scatered abroade, the victorours pursued after. And passinge the place wherupon the Lacedemonians battelle was firste araynged, made a sore pursuit vpon Agys: who seyng hys men flynge, and his enemies approche at hand, wylled hys men to sette hym downe: where stretchynge out hym selfe, to fele if the force of hys body coulde aunswere vnto hys harte. When he founde him selfe vnable to stande, remaynynge vppon hys knees, put on hys helmet, and couerynge hys body wyth hys target, shaked hys speare

and prouoked his enemies to drawe neare, if eny were
destrous of his spoyle, but there was not one that pres-
sed neare him, but did cast dartes a farre of, which he al
wayes toke and threwe at his enemies againe, til such
time as he was thrust into the bare breast with a speare.
Agis was slayne. But when the same was pulled out of the wounde he
fainted, & bowing him self vpō his target, shortly after
fel downe dead, bloud and life failynge both together.
There were slaine of the Lacedemonians. v. M. iii.
C. lx. and of the Macedons not passyng. iii. c. but ther
was scarsely eny of them ỹ escaped vnwounded. This
victory brake the hartes not only of the Lacedemoni-
ans and of their confederates, but also all other which
lay in wayte loking for the successe of that warre. An-
tipater was not ignorant howe the countenaunces of
such as dyd gratefye his victory, differed muche from
the entētes of their hartes: but desirous to finishe the
warre that was begon, perceyued it necessary for hym
to dissemble and suffer him selfe to be deceyued. And
though he reioyced muche in the fortune of the thinge,
yet he feared the ernie that might ensue therof, being
a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenaunte dyd
beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he de-
sired his enemies hadde wonne the victory, shewynge
manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters
good successe, thinking that what honour soeuer chau-
sed to eny other manne, was a derogacion to his owne
glory. Antipater therefore which knewe ful wel his ste-
make, durst not vse the victory accordinge to his owne
wyll, but assembled a counsell of Greakes, to aduise
what they thoughte expedient. The Lacedemonians
made no other requeste, but that they might sēd Embas-
sadours vnto Alexander, whych vpon their repaire to

Alexander wan commons of all mens good fortune, pine for drone, & thought all somthat stammed to offer men, wan a derogation of his glorie.

hym,

him and their suite made, obtained a general pardō for al men, sauyng for such as were ỹ aucthours of the rebellion. The Megapolitans whose citie dyd abide the siege, were compelled to pay as a fyne for their rebelliō xx. talentes to the Athenias, and the Aetolians. Thys was the ende of the warre, whych beynge sodeinly begon was ended before that Alexāder had ouerthrowen Darius at Arbella. Assone as hys minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that coulde beare better the warres then quietnes, gaue him selfe all too plesures. By the vices wherof ensewing he was ouercome, whom no powre of ỹ Persias or eny other was able to subdue. He was geuē to banqueting, out of seasō & to a fonde delight of drinking & watchinge in plates emonges flockes of Concubines, that drewe him into straunge maners & customes. Which he folowynge as thynges better then hys countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly both the eies and ỹ hartes of his owne nation, and caused manye ỹ loued hym before entierly, to hate hym then as an enemye. For the Macedons ỹ were obstinate in keaping their own discipline, and acacustomed not to be curious, but so scarse in their diet as might suffice nature: when they saw him go about to bryng in emonges theim the vices of those nations whych they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutine rose emongs the souldiers, and euery one complaynning to an other, freely vttered their griefes, wherby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspicion and sodeine feare: diuers other inconuenience ensuing therupon, which shalbe declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath bene saide before to vnreasonable banquetinge, wherein he consumed both daye and nyghte. When he was satisfied of

Megapolitans.

howe Alexander in prosperyte fell to vice.

They that gaboumb in feminie, and delyght to enter into marryages, euen somes inordinate beastlie.

Mutyne

eating and drinking, passed ouer the tyme with plates and pastimes. And not contented wt such musicians as he brought out of Greece, caused the womenne that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred the eares of the Macedōs not accustomed to such thinges. Emōges those women Alexander spyed one more sadde thē the rest whiche with a certaine shamefastnes did striue wyth them that brought her fourth. She was excellēt of bewty, & throughe her shamefastnes, her bewtie was augmented. Because she did caste her eies towardes the earth, couering her face so much as she might: gaue suspiciō for him to think ỹ she was ōne of greter nobilite, thē ỹ she ought to be brought in, in suche kinde of pastimes. And therfore being demaūded what she was: she shewed hir selfe to be ỹ doughter of Occhus that lately reigned in Perce, & the wife of Histaspis which was Darius kinsman, and had ben his lieutenaunt ouer great armies. There yet remayned in the kynges harte some smale sparckes of hys former vertue. For in respect of her estate being come of kynges bloud, and the reuerence he bare to suche a name, as the nese of Occhus, commaūded her not only to be set free but also to be restored to her goods and her husband, whome he wylled to be soughte out. The nexte day he appointed Ephestion to bringe all the prisoners vnto the court, wher enquering of the nobilitie of euery one commaunded them whiche were descended of noble bloud to be seuered from the rest, emōgs whome they founde Oxatres brother to Darius, that was no lesse noble of mynd then of bloud. There was made of the last spoyle .xxvi. M. talentes, whereof .xii. M. were consumed in rewardes emonges the men of warre: and the sume amoūted to no lesse value that

Histaspis.

was

was conueied awaye, by them that hadde the keepinge thereof. There was one Oxydates a noble manne of Perce that was put in prison by Darius, and appointted to suffer death, whom Alexander deliuered & gaue vnto him the seignioxie of Media, and receiued Darius bxother emonges the numbxe of his frendes, reseruing to him al the accustomed honoure of his nobilitie. Then thei came to the coũtrey of Parthenia, thẽ being but obscure and vnknowen: but nowe the heade of all those countreis whiche lie vpon Tigre and Euphxates, and be bounded with the redde sea. This coũtrey beinge fruteful and aboundaunte of al thynges, was taken by the Scithians, whiche possessyng parte both of Asia and Europe, bee troublous neighbours to them both. The Scithians, whiche inhabite vpon the Bospheron sea, are ascribed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe, possesse the countreis lyng on the lefte of Thxace, so far as Boxisthenes, and from thẽce right foxth so farre as the ryuer of Thanais, that parteth Europe and Asia. It is certaine that the Scythes, of whome the Persians be discended, came not frõ Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a noble citie in those daies called Hecatomphilos builded by the Greakes, where Alexander remained wyth his army, cõueytinge vittailes thether from all partes. Emonges the souldiers lyng there in idelnes, there rose sodaynely a rumoure, entered into their heades without eny certaine auctour oz beginning. The rumoz was, how that Alexander satisfied with the actes he had done, purposed immediatelye to retourne into Macedon. Thys fame was not so sone sowen abxoade, but that they ranne lyke madde menne to theyr lodgynges,

Oxydates.

Parthenia.

Bospheron.

Boxisthenes.

Hecatomphilos.

Atumidte that rosse vp on a rumour

After longe trauell, euery man remitteth to be at hame.

and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: making such preparacion to depart, that euery man iudged warninge had bene geuen to remoue, and that the thynge had bene done by appointment. The tumult that rysse in the campe by ladinge of cariages, & by the callyng ỹ one made vnto another, came vnto the kynges eares. This rumoure obteined the soner credite, by the dyspatche of certaine Greake souldiers, whom Alexander had dismissed into their countrey, wyth the gifte of .vi. thousande deneres, to euery horseman. Wherupon takyng occasion to thinke that the warre had bene at an ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India, and the vttermost boundes of the Orient. was no lesse afraide of this matter, thẽ the case required. And therefore called before him the capitaines of his army, with the teares in his eies, made a greate complainte vnto theym: that in the middle course of his glorye he should thus be pulled back, and compelled to retourne into his countrey, rather as a man vainquished thẽ as a victorour. Whiche misfortune (he saide) he coulde not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge ỹ theyr cowardnes did geue impediment to his procedinges, but ỹ it was onely the enuye of the goddes, that put so sodaine a desire of their countrey into the mindes of valiaunt mẽ, which within a while should haue returned with greater glory and fame. Therupon they al promised to trauaile in reformacion of the matter, offeringe them selues in althinges (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he woulde haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be ỹ he woulde make some gentle and apt oracion to pacifie them: which were neuer yet sene departe frõ him in eny desperacion or disturbaũce of mynd, if they once beheld the chearfulnes

of

of his countenaunce, and the courage proceadyng frō his harte. He promised so to do, and required at their hande to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to geue him eare. When all thinges were prepared whiche were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his armye together, and made this Oration vnto them. When ye consider(my souldiours)the greatnes of the actes whiche ye haue done, and the manifolde conquestes that ye haue made, it is no marueile at all, that ye be enclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame and glory. For leauyng to speake of the Illirias, & Triballes, of Boecia, Thracia, & Sparta, of the Achetans, and Peloponesians, whom I haue subdued parte in persone, and the rest by appoyntmente. I wyll not make rehearsall of the warre we began at Hellespont, and how we deliuered from the intollerable seruitude of the barbarians nacions, Ionas, and Aeolides, and gote vnto our possession bothe Caria, Lydia, Capadocia Phrigia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia Pisides, Cilicia. Syria, Phenices, Armenia, Perce, Mede, and Parthenia. We haue gotten more countreys, then other haue takē cities, & yet(I am sure) the multitude haue caused me to leaue some of thē vnrehersed. If I could thinke that the possession of these landes that we haue conquered in so shorte time could remayne sure vnto vs, then(my souldiours) I would, thoughe it were against your willes, breake from you, to visite my house, and my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my countrey menne, to enioye there the laude and glory that I haue gotten with you. Where as the ioyfull conuersation of our wiues, our children, and Parentes, peace, quietnes, & a sure possession of thinges gotten through our valiautnes do tary for vs, as large rewardes of our victory.

Alexanders oracion vnto the souldyers.

victory. But if we will confesse the trueth, this new empire whiche we haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by waye of entreatie, doth require a time, ꝑ this stiffe necked people may learne to bear our yoke, and by framyng their dispositions to a more humanitie, bring their cruell nature to a more ciuill conuersation. Do we not see that the corne in the fielde asketh a time for his ripynge: and thoughe the same be without sence, yet hathe it his course to be brought to perfection. Do you beleue that so many nacions not agreyng with vs in religion, in custome, nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the Empire & name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subiection with the winnyng of one battayle: No trust me, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of their owne good willes. And they which shewe you obedience when ye be here emonges thē, when you be absent will be your enemies. You must thinke that ye haue to do with wild beastes, which beyng fierce of nature, whē thei be first taken, must be shut vp & tamed w̄ time. Hither to I haue reasoned with you as though we had cōquered the whole dominion ꝑ perteined to Darius, whiche is nothing so. For Nabarzanes possesseth Hircania, & the traytour Bessus not only enioieth Bactria, but also threateneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahās, Massagets, Sagans, and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiction, whiche shall not see our backes so sone turned, but they will folowe vs in the tayles. They all haue a certayne frendshyp and amitye one wyth an other, but we be all straungers and forreners vnto them. There is no creature but that wyll more gladlye be obediente to rulers of his owne nacion.

nacion, then to forreyners, be their gouernement neuer so terryble. We are dryuen of necessitie therefore to winne that we haue not, or els to lose that we haue alredy gotten. As phisicions in sicke bodies will leaue no humour that maye hurt, so lyke wise we muste cut away whatsoeuer shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not sene great fiers risen of smal sparkes not regarded? We maye not neglect eny thing in our enemies, whom the more we despise, ȳ more strong we make thē. And because you shal not thinke it suche an impossibilitie for Bessus to make him self king, wher as a kyng wanteth: you shall vnderstand that Darius came not to his empire by enheritaūce, but got into the seate of Cirus by the benefite of Bagoas hys Enuke. We commit an heynous offence (my souldiers) if we make warre agaynst Darius, & put him downe for the intent to gyue hys kyngdome vnto hys seruaunt, yea, and to suche one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst his maister, at such a tyme as he hadde moste neade of healpe. And whome, we beyng hys enemyes woulde haue spared: he being his subiect, put him in cheines as a captiue, and finally slewe him because he should not be preserued by vs. Shal you suffre this kind of man to reigne? no let vs make all the spede we maye to see him crucified and so to shewe vnto all kinges and nacions a iustice done vpon one, that so vilely falsefied his fayth. If the reporte should come vnto you beyng in your owne countreis, that the same mā were distroyeng of the Greake cities about Helespont, O god how sorye would you be then, and howe muche would you lamente that Bessus should enioye that you haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewardes of your victory? Then would you make hast to recouer your owne, thē would you

Smale sparke & proue to ā great fyre.

Kynges reygne not kynges by enheritaūce.

you bende your selues to the warres. But howe much better is it nowe to oppresse hym whiles he remayneth in suche feare, and is vncertayne what waye to take? Shall we spare to spende. iiii. dayes iourney to come to hym, that haue ouertroden suche snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue clymed so many mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing sea coulde be no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia could shut vp our waye. Now all thinges are made playne and open, and we stande in the entrey of our victory. There be but a fewe fugitiues and killers of their maisters that do remaine. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to be registred byfame vnto your glorye then to reueng suche as were traytours to Darius? You shal therby shew that whē you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended wyth his death, & that no wicked man coulde escape your handes. Which thing if you bring to passe, how muche more obedient do you thinke the Persians shall be vnto you, when they perceyue you to take iuste warres in hand, and that it was not Bessus name wherwith ye were offended, but with his faultes and euill doynges. His oration was receyued of the Souldiours with suche gladnes, that they streightwayes desiered him to carye theim whither he woulde. And he that coulde vse the occasion of their good mode, passed through Parthenia, and came to the boundes of Hircania, leauing Craterus (with the band wherof he had the rule, and sixe thousande horsemen, of whom Amintas had the charge, wyth the like nūbre of Archers) to defend Parthenia frō the incursion of the barberous nacions. He appointed Erigonus a smal power to attend vpō his cariages, willyng him to passe with theim through the playne countrey, and he hym selfe

No good occasion would be let slyp.

Hircania.

Inuasion

selfe with his kotemen, and wyth the reste of his horse-
men marched forwardes. C. fiftye furlonges, and en-
camped in a valeye at the entrey of Hircania. In the
same place be greate woodes full of highe and thycke
trees, and the bottome of the valeye is verye fruitfull,
by reason of the springes that come forth of the rockes
Out of the foote of the mountaynes there riseth a ry-
uer called Zioberis, whiche within thre furlonges of the Zioberis.
head is deuided by a rocke, standynge in the middes of
the streame, caulyng the water to go two sundry wayes
Whiche afterwardes commyng againe into one cha-
nell, runneth more violentlye then before, by reason of
the fall from the rockes. And sodainelye it sinketh into
the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of. ccc.
furlonges, and then commeth forthe againe, as it were
out of a newe spring, beyng then in breadth. xiii. fur-
longes, and as it runneth forwardes, draweth more na-
rowe, and falleth into an other streame named Rhyda- Rhydago.
go. The inhabitours of the countrey affirmed that all
thinges cast in where the streame sunke into the groud
woulde appeare and come out againe at the next issue.
For the proouyng of whiche conclusion, Alexander cau-
sed two Bulles to be caste in, where the water entred,
whose bodies were founde by suche as were appoin-
ted for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe
In this place he refreshed his armye foure daies, du-
ring whiche time, Nabarzanes which was confederate
with Bessus in killyng of the king, did write letters to
him, in effect, howe that he was no enemie vnto Dari- The effecte of Nabarza-nes letters to Alexãder
us, but counsailed him euer to do suche thinges as he
iudged most profitable, and for his faithfull counsayle
was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about
against all reason to commit the custodye of his person

to

to straungers, condemnyng thereby the fidelitie of his owne nation, which thei had kept vnspotted towardes their kynges by the space of .cccxx. yeares. Wherefore seing him selfe in that peril and daunger, toke counsel of his present necessitie. And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawful for a man to kil such one, whom he knewe to conspire his death, whiche was an excuse (he saide) wherwith Darius satisfied the people, when he had slaine Bagoas. He alledged that nothing was more deare to mortall creatures then life, for the loue wherof he was driuē to this extremitye, in committing an acte which necessitie rather compelled him to do, thē his owne disposicion. For in a general calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would commaund him to come to his presence, he said he would not refuse to do it, for he coulde not feare ỹ so great a kyng would violate his promise, seing one God is not wont to deceyue an other. But if he should seme vnworthy to whom he would geue his assuraunce, there were many coūtreis for him to fle vnto. For al men hauing vertue in them, counte alwaies that for their coūtrey, where they make their dwellyng place. Alexander made no stay to geue him his faith, after suche sorte as the Persians vsed to receiue promyse: whiche was, saufly to come and go. Notwithstanding he marched in order of battaile, sendyng euer scourers before to discouer the ground. The light armed were appointed to the vaward, the phalanx folowed after, and the baggage behind. For by reason the same was a warlyke nacion, & the countrey hard to entre vpō, caused the king to loke ernestly vpō the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the bākes therof resembling the hornes of the mone before it cōmeth to the ful, the sea lyng betwext them

Note.

them like a great bay. Upō the left hand the people inhabite that be called Cercetes, which lie open towardes the North, and vpon the other part the Leucosyrians, Mossynes, and Chalibes, and the plaines of the Amazones lye towardes the west. This sea whiche some call the Caspian, and some the Hyrcanian sea, beyng more sweater then eny other, bryngeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull bygnes, and fyshes differyng in colour muche from all the reste. There be diuers of opinion that the lake of Meotis should runne into this sea, whiche they coniecture of the water, thynking the same to receiue his sweatnes of the lake. Towardes the North the sea groweth into a flatte shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, whiche rysyng highe, make manye meares and plasches. And as by certaine course of the planets they flowe oute, so at certaine time by an ebbe, they returne in agayne, restoring the grosid to his former estate. Some beleue those waters to be no parcel of the Caspian sea, but that they come out of Inde, and runne into Hircania, which lieth low in the foresaid valey. The king being remoued frō that place, marched forwardes .xx. furlonges in a wild desert waye, where great woodes honge continuallye ouer their heades, and brokes of water and myre gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without eny impedimēt of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey, wherin besides other vitailes (wherof it did habounde) grewe great plentye of apples, and the grounde was very apt for vynes. There were also plenty of a certaine kinde of trees muche like vnto Okes, whose leaues were couered with honye, which the inhabitours gather before

Cercetes, Leucosirians Mossynes. Chalybes

The Caspyan sea.

the

the sunne risyng, for els the moisture wouldе be dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed .xxx. furlonges more forwardes, Phrataphernes mette him, yealdyng both him selfe, and such other as fledde away after Darius deathe, whom he receiued gentelye, and came to a towne called Aruas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringynge with theim Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whose frendlye receiuynge and gentle entertainemente was the cause that many followed his example, in committyng theim selues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania, who beyng a banished man in the time of Ochus, came to king Philippe for refuge, and Phradates also was restored to the office he had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost boundes of Hircania, Artabasus whom we declared to shewe him selfe alwaye to his maister, mette Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children, and with a small bande of Greake souldiours. The king at his commyng profered him his hande, because he had bene entertayned before by king Philip, whē he was banished bi Ochus but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitye that he obserued towardes his prince. He beyng thus gentelye receiued by Alexander, said vnto him: Sir, long maye you floryshe and reigne in perpetual felicitie. I that reioyce in all other thinges, with one am chiefely greued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not be able long to enioye your goodnes. He was .lxxv. yeares of age, & brought with him .ix. sonnes borne of one mother, whom he presented before the kyng, prayng God to cōtinue their liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him. Alexander was accustomed much to walke on fote, but

Aruas. Phradates.

Tapurians.

Menape.

Alexander restored many to their former estate, geuinge them more than their former reuenue.

Artabasus yelded to Alexander.

Artabazus vowes to Alexander,

then

then leste the olde man might be ashamed to ride, he goyng on fote, called for horses for them bot he. When he was encampyd, he sent for the Greakes that Artabalus brought. But they made request firste that he would giue assuraunce to the Lacedemonians ẏ were emonges them, or els thei would take aduise emonges them selues what were beste to do: The same were ẏ Embassadours that ẏ Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius, which after the battayle, ioyned them selues to the Greakes ẏ were in Darius wagies. The kyng willed thẽ to leaue al assuraunces & cõpositions, & cum to receiue such appointment as he wold giue thẽ. Thei stoode long in a stay varyng in opinions, but at length thei agreyd so to do: Sauing Democrates of Athens which chiefly had euer oppugnyd ẏ succesſ of ẏ Macedons, who dispairing of pardõ slewe him selfe. But ẏ other, as thei had determined, submitted them selues to Alexanders wil, being .x. M. vc. in numbre, besides .iiii. score and .x. of such as were sent Embassadoures vnto, Darius. The more parte of the souldiers were distrybuted emonges the bandes to fyll vp ẏ nõbres that wanted, & the reste were sent home except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to be put in prison.

Ther was a nation called Mardõs bounding next to Hircania, rude in their maners & vsages, accustumed to lyue by theft: Thei neither sent Embassadours, nor gaue eny significatiõ ẏ they woulde be at Alexanders cõmaundement, he toke therat great indignatiõ ẏ eny one people should giue impediment to his victory, and therfore leuing a guard for his cariages, went against them with a stronge powre. He marched forwardes in the night, and by the tyme that the day appeared his enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to a

The Mardens.

larome then to enyfyght. For the enemies were sone driuen from the hilles, who flieng awaye, left their villagies to be sacked by the Macedons. But the armye could not passe into the inward partes of the cõtrey without great trouble & vexacion, the same being compassed about wt high mountaynes, great woodes, & desert rockes, and the partes which were plaine were defended with a straung kind of fortificacion, yt is to saye with trees set thick of purpose, yt boughes wherof whẽ they were young, were wreathed one wythin an other: The toppes bowed downe were put into the grounde againe frõ whẽce as out of an other rote there sprong newe braunches. They would not suffre the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knit thẽ so one wyth an other, that whẽ thei were ful of leaues, they couered cleane yt earth. The trees thus wreathed one wt an other, enclosed in the cõtrey as it were wt a cõtinual hedge, and were as snares to entangle such as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through yt same, but only by cutting downe of the woode. And therin they found a greate difficultie and much trauaile by reasõ yt the wreathing & wrapping togither of yt boughes kept thẽ of from the bodies of the trees, & the weaknes of yt boughes so yelded to the strokes, yt thei could not easily be cut a sonder. The inhabiters of the countrey were accustumed to creape emonges the brushe like wild beastes, and by priuie salies breake out vpon their enemies. Alexãder therfore caused hys men after yt maner of hunters, to seke out their lurking places, & killed many of thẽ. But at length he enuironed the woode with hys souldiers round about, tothintene thei might breake in atte uery

The murdowe vsed a straunge kinde of fortyfycacion, for the countrey were enclosed wt a mightie hedge enforced to grow togyther

place

place, wher they should spie eny entre. In doing wher-
of many wandred & lost their company in places ꝑ they
knew not, and were taken prysoners, & emõges them
Bucephalus Alexãders horse, whõ he did not esteame
as men do other beastes, for he would not suffre eny o-
ther man to leape vpon hym, and whẽ the kyng would
ride he would kneele downe vpõ his knees to receiue
him, so that he seamed to haue the sence to vnderstand
whom he caried. Alexander was more sorowfull and
sturred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, thẽ
was expedient for such cause, for serching about to get
the horse againe, caused proclamacion to be made bi an
interpreter, that except he were restored, he would not
leaue one of the countrey men aliue. When thei heard
thys terrible threating, emonges other giftes, thei pre-
sented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not ther-
wyth pacyfied, but commaunded the woodes to be cut
downe, and the wayes to be made playne whyche he
cutte through the woodes. This worke went so wel for-
ward, that the inhabiters dispayring of habilitie to de-
fend their countrey, yelded them selues to the kynge.
Who receyuing their pledges, committed them to the
keaping of Phradates, and from thence the fifte daye
retourned agayne to his campe. There he gaue to Ar-
sabasus the double honour ꝑ Darius did vnto hym &
sent him home againe into his countrey. After that he
came to the citie of Hircania, where Darius Palace
was. Nabarzanes vpon assuraunce came thither, bring-
ging with him great giftes and emonges the reste pre-
sented vnto Alexãder Bagoas an Eniuke of singuler
beauty, beyng in the firste flowre of youth, whom Da-
rius accustomed, and after Alexander: at whose inter-
cession specially he did pardon Nabarzanes. The na-

Bucephalus Alexanders horse.

The Amazons.

cio of the Amazos beyng nere vnto Hircania(as hath ben sayed before) did inhabite the playnes of Themiscire about the riuer of Thermodoonta, & had a quene reigning ouer the called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion all the countreis betwene the Mount Caucasus, and the riuer of Phasis. She for the great affection she had to see Alexander, trauailed out of hir owne countrey, and beyng come nere where he was, sent certain before, to declare that a queane was come of desire to visite hym, & to make hir acquaintaunce. Whan libertie was giuen her to come to hys presence she caused all the reste of hir bande to staye, and shee came forwardes accompanied wyth .ccc. women. Assone as she perceyued Alexander, she leaped from her horse carryng two Lances in hir hande. The Amazons apparayle is such that it doth not couer all their bodies, for their brestes be bare on the lefte syde, and their garmentes whyche they vse to knytte vp wyth a knot, come not to their knees. One breste thei alwaies reserue vntouched wherewith they norysche theyr woman children, but their ryght breastes thei vse to seare, to make them more apt to drawe their bowes, and caste their dartes. Thalestris lokid vpon Alexander with a bould coutenaunce, & considered in beholding of hym, that his personage aunswered not to the fame that she had heard of his actes. For the barbarous nations geue great veneracion to ỹ maiestie of the personage, thynking none to be sufficient for the doyng of great actes, but such as nature haue endued with great personagies. It was demaunded of hir, if she had eny request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she abashed not to confesse that she was come thether to get children with hym: thinking her selfe a personage worthy

Thermodoonta

Phasis.

Thalestrys mette Alexander.

The queene of the amazons wold haue children with Alexander.

of

of whom he, shoulde get heires to enherite hys kyng-
dome, wherin she couenaunted ꝙ if it were a womā she
would kepe it styll, & if it were a man chylde, she would
restore it to the father. Alexāder enquired of her, if she
would go forwardes with him in his warres but ther-
in she excused her selfe, that she hadde left no ordre for
the defence of her kyngdome. But she continued styl
in declaration of the cause of her comming, and re-
quired that her hope therein myghte not be in vayne.
The womans appetite, seamed to be more vehemently
geuen to luste then the kynges, was, yet she obtayned
of hym to staye for her cause, and consumed thirtene
dates in satisfieng of her desire. That done she dep ar
ted to her owne kyngdome, and Alexander wente to
Parthenia, whych was the place where he first shewed
manifestly the vices that were in hym'. There he tur-
ned his continencye, and moderacion (being the moste
excellente vertues appearing in eny kynde of estate)
into pryde and voluptuousnesse, not esteamyng hys
countrey customes, nor the holsome temperaunce that
was in the vsagies and discipline of the kynges of
Macedō. For he iudged their ciuill vsage and manet
to be ouer base for his greatnes, but did counterfeit ꝙ
heyghte and pompe of the kynges of Perse, repre-
sentyng the greatnes of the Goddes. He was con-
tent to sufferr men there to fall downe flatte vpon the
ground, and worshyp him, & accustomed the victorours
of so many nacions, by little & little, to seruile offices,
coueting to make them lyke vnto hys captiues. He
ware vpon his head a Diademe of purple, interpaled
wyth white, lyke as Darius was accustomed, and fa-
shioned his apparaile after the maner of the Parthiās
without scrupulositie of eny euill token that it signi-

*Manyfest woma
ymbrydlen to
royte.*

*pere Alexā
der first for-
soke vertue
and fell to
vice.*

*Alexander began
first to mis-
vse hys vyc-
tories at Parthenia.*

*Inordynate pryde
made Alexander
to thinke hym-
selfe a god then
a man, wher-
vppon he suffe-
red men to fall
down to hym &
worshyp hym,
which he coulde
not haue suffe-
red in a wyse
prince.*

He putteth on the auncient vestiment, and fashioned himself after the Persian maner, putting on him together with the garmente, their euell maners and insolency of the mynde.

lied, for the victorer to chaunge his habite into the fashion of hym whom he had vaynquisshed. And though he aduaunced that he ware the spoiles of his enemies, yet wyth those spoiles he put vpon him their euell maners, and the insolensy of the mynde, followed the pryde of the apparayle. Besides he sealed suche letters as he sent into Europe wyth his accustomed seale, but all the letters he sente abrode into Asia, were sealed wyth Darius synge. So it appeared that one mynde could not beare the greatnes that appertained to two. He appareyled also his frendes, his capitaynes, & hys horsemen in Persian apparell, wherat though they grudged in their myndes, yet they durste not refuse it for feare of hys displeasure. Hys court was replenisshed wyth concubines, for he still maynteined thre hundred .lx. that belonged to Darius, & emonges them were flockes of Enukes accustomed to perfourme the vse of women. The old souldiers of Philippe naturally abhorryng such thinges, manifestly wythstode to be infected wyth suche voluptuousnes, and straūge customes. Wherupon there rose a general talke and opinio throughout ỹ cāpe: that they had loste more by the victory, then they had wonne by the warre. For when thei saw them selues ouercome in suche exceesse, & forein customes so to preuaile emonges them, they iudged it a slēder reward of their long being abrode, to returne home in the habite of prisoners. Thei begā to be ashamed of their king, that was more like to suche as were subdued, than to them that were victorious, and that of a kyng of Macedon, was become a prince of Perce, & one of Darius courtiers. When he vnderstode that the chiefe of hys frendes and his men of warre, were greuously offended wyth his doynges, he went about

Thei first delight in wyne, & after offered to their companye, either by intreatie or compulsion.

The souldiers murmured at the disorder of their prince.

to

to recouer fauour agayne with giftes and liberalitie: but it is to be thought that the rewardes of seruitude, be vngratefull to free men. And therfore lest this matter myghte turne into a sedicion, he thought good to breake the imaginacions encreased by idlenes, with the exercise of warre, whereof an apt occasiō was geuen. For Bessus inuesting him selfe as a kyng, toke vpon hym the name of Artaxerses, drawing to his parte the Scithians and other that were the inhabiters of the Ryuer of Tanais: whiche thinges were reported to hym by Nabarzanes, whom he had receyued into hys fauour, & geuen the rule of the coūtrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expediciō, he found his army so ouercharged and laden with spoile & other furnimētes of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarsly moue. Wherfore he commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole army to be brought togeither in one place, excepting only such thinges as were very necessary. The place was large and playne whether the cartes were brought laden, and when euerye one stode waytyng and musing what he would commaund them to doe, he caused the beastes to be remoued first out of the way, and then set his owne cardels on fyer and after all the reste. Whiles these thynges were burning the owners were on fyer, to see those thinges consumed, for the sauing wherof they had oft quenched fyer flambes in Cyties of their enemies. Yet no man durste lament the price of hys owne bloud, seing they sawe the fyer consume the kynges ryches as well as their owne, and the rather to pacefie them, the kyng did mytigate their dolour wyth a brefe oracion. Whereupon they that were euer apt for the warres, and redy to doe all thynges, beganne to be ioyfull that

The rewarde of seruytude is vngratefull to free men.

Whyles Bessus toke vpon hym as kyng.

When he commaunded his men to bring all the baggage and stuffe of the whole army in a playne, or cleare ground where he might se it.

wyth the losse of their baggage, thei had preserued their
discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were set
tyng forwardes towardes Bactria Nycanor thesonne
Nicanor. of Parmenio died sodeinly, whome euery man great-
ly lamented, but chiefely the kynge was so sorowfull,
desiring to haue stayed for the celebracion of hys buri-
all, but that wante of vitayles caused hym to haste for-
wardes. Philotas therefore was left behind wyth
two thousand syx hundred souldiers to parfourme the
ceremonies appertaining to hys brothers burial, and
he hym selfe marched towardes Bessus. In the waye
letters were brought to Alexãder frõ the princes ther
about, that Bessus was cõming towardes hym wyth
Satribarza nes. a great army: adding threunto that Satribarzanes
whome he had made prince of the Arians, was newe-
ly rebelled. For that cause, not wythstandyng he was
come nere vnto Bessus, yet he thought it best firste to
oppresse Satribarzanes. and for that intente brought
forwardes his horsemen and footemen that were light
armed, to inuade hym sodaynly. Hys comming was
not so preuye, but Satribarzanes knewe there of and
fled into Bactria wyth two thousand horsemen. For
by reason he was not abel to assemble eny more in so
shorte a tyme, the reste toke the next mountaynes for
The siege of a rocke. their refuge. There was a rock whyche towardes the
west was hyghe and steape. but towardes the east more
lowe and easye to be clymbed vpon, whiche parte it was
ful of trees. The same rock being in cõpasse. xxxii. fur-
lõges had a foũtayne' ronning contynually, & in ỹ top
a greane playne, where they placed the weaker multi-
tude, but the rest that were apt for defence being to the
nombre of thirtene thousand, gotte them selues to the
edgies

edgies of the rocke and there threwe downe stones and
logges, the Macedons vpō that came to assayle them.
He left Craterus to besyege thys rocke, and wente in
parson to pursue Satrebarzanes. And because he
vnderstode that he was fledde farre of returned back
agayne to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke
Fyrste he caused all thynges to be taken awaye, that
myght be eny impediment to hys men in the assaulte
geuing. But when they came to the bare and steape
rocke the laboure semyd waste. where nature wrought
againste them. But he ꝑ was of a disposicion alwayes
to striue agaynst difficulties, consideryng howe hard a
matter it was to go forwardes, and howe daungerous
to returne backe agayne, dyd caste in hys head all they
wayes and deuises that could be Imagined, & now
fainteslied one thyng, & then an other, as men be wont
when ꝑ wayes haue found out fyrste do not please thē
As he stode in a stay in doubt what to doe. fortune did
minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor rea-
son could inuente. It chaunsed that the wynde blewe
sore at the south west. what time the souldiers had fel-
led great plenty of wood, wherof thei thought to make
scaffoldes to mounte vp against the rocke & the heate
of the sonne had made the same dry. When Alexander
perceiued the wynd to blowe after that sorte. and the
woode lieng in that place, cōceiued by and by hys pur-
pose, and willed more trees to be cut downe, & laid vpō
them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apt to
kyndle and norishe fier: So that trees heaped vpon
trees, became as it were a mountaine, so hyghe as the
top of the rocke. The same being set a fire in al partes
at once, the wynde caried the flambe into the face of
their

their enemies, & the smoke couered ouer the sky. The noise was thē great that the fier made, which burned not only ỹ trees that were fired of purpose, but also the reste of the woode growing nere there about. The enemies were so tormented with the flambe & heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, & attempted to escape away where the fyer gaue them lest impediment. But where the fier gaue place, the Macedons stode in redines to receiue them, so that they were consumed & slayne, diuers kynde of wayes. Some threwe them selues downe the rockes, some ran into the middes of ỹ fier, other fell into their enemies hādes, and a fewe, halfe consumed wyth fier were takē prisoners. Whē Alexāder had done this act,
Artacnan. he returned to Craterꝰ, which besieged Artacnan who hauing prepared all thinges in redines, taried only for the kinges cōming, to giue him the honour of the winning of the Cytie. When Alexander was come, he approched the walles with ỹ towres of timber that he had prepared for the assaulte, at the syght wherof the inhabitauntes were so afrayed, that they held vp their handes from the walles, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath vpon Satribarzanes that was the aucthour of their rebellion. Alexander pardoned them freely, and not onely leuied hys siege, but also restored to the inhabitauntes, al thynges that pertained to thē. As he remoued from thys Cytie, there came vnto him a newe supplye of souldiers. Zoylus brought out of Greace fyue hundred horsemen, and thre .M. which Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred & thirty Thessalian horsemē wt Philip who also brought of souldiers straūgers out of Lidia, two .M. fiue hundred

dred footemen and .iii. hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus encreasyd hys power, entryd into the countrey of the Drangans. whiche were a warlyke nacion. and vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes, who beyng of counsell with Bessus in the treason that he committed against his prince, when he hearde of Alexanders commyng, for feare of the punishemente he hadde deserued, fledde into India. Thus hadde they lyen in campe nyne dayes, when Alexander being without feare of eny enemy, and inuincible against all forein powres, was brought in perill by treason of hys own people. It chaūsed that one Dymnus a mā of meane behauour and authoritie with his prince, was greatly enflamyd in the loue of a young man called Nicomachus, with whō he vsed much familier cōuersatiō This Dimnus on a tyme beyng in a passion (as it wel appeared by hys countenaunce) allured this yong man into a Temple, where remaynyng alone togethers declared that he had certain secreates to shewe him, whiche in no wise were to be reported againe. Thereby he brought Nycomachus in great suspection, what the matter shoulde be: For before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue & familiaritie betwixte thē, that he would assure him by his oth to kepe ỹ thing secrete: who supposinge the matter to be of no suche weighte, that he ought with periurie and breakynge of his othe to disclose the same againe, sware by the goddes there presente. Then Dymnus openyd vnto him howe there was a treason conspired against the kinge, whiche within three dayes shoulde be put in execution, wherof (he saied) he him selfe was priuie with diuers men of nobylitie and estimation. When Nicomachus did heare it to be suche a matter, constauntlye denied

Drangans

A treasō cōspired against Alexand

Dimnus.

Nychomachus.

then

then ỹ his promise extẽdyd to counsaile treason, whervnto no othe nor religion coulde bynde a man. When Dymnus heard him saye so, he became in a rage betwixte loue and feare, and clasped the young mã bi the hand, requiring him with weping eyes, that he would not stycke to be a partaker in the execution of this cõspiracye: or at the leaste, if hys harte woulde not serue him, that he woulde kepe hys counsayle secrete, in respecte that he had founde suche proufe of loue in hym, to commit his life into hys hãdes without eny further proufe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion when he perceiued that Nicomachus woulde in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vsed diuers meanes to bring him to hys entente, one while entreating him with fayre wordes, and an other while threatenynge to kyll him. He called him cowarde and traitour to hys frende, commendyng the goodlines of the enterprice, and putte hym in hope of greate preferments, in that he shoulde be parttener of gthe kyndome they went about to get. When he had proued al these wayes, and yet founde hym straunge, he thruste hys swoorde one while to Nicomachus throte, and another while to his owne: so that at length by threatning and faire speakyng, he brought him to promise, both to kepe hys counsaile secreate, and also to be assistaunt to the dede doyng. yet neuertheless as one of a constaũt mynde (though for the tyme presente he seamed to be wonne wyth the loue of hys frende, & become agreable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of his former purpose. This done, Nicomachus required to know what the men were, that hadde confederated them selues in so weyghtie a matter, because the personnes (he saied) were muche materiall that shoulde take soo greate

an

an enterprice in hand. Then Dimnus though he were in great trouble of minde ꝑ he had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him aske ꝑ question, reioysed, and thanked hym greatlye, that he would so freely associate hym selfe wyth suche maner of men, as Demetrius of the prieue chãbre was, Peculaus, Nichanor. Aphobetus. Loceus. Diosenus, Archelopis, and Amintas This cõmunication once ended betwyxt thẽ Nicomachus departed, & disclosed al ꝑ matter whych he hadde heard before, to a brother of hys called Ceballinus: agreyng betwyxt them two, ꝑ Nicomachus shoulde remaine styll secreate in hys tent, least by hys commyng to the kynges lodgynge, not vsing to haue accesse vnto the kynge, the conspiratours myght perceyue them selues bewrayed. Ceballinus repaired to the kynges lodginge, and taried before ꝑ gate, waiting for some mã nere about the kynge, to bring him to hys presence. It fortuned that emõgest mani which passed by, only Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaundyd why he waited there. To whom Ceballinus wyth a bashed coũtenaunce (wel declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges whiche he hadde heard of his brother, requiring him ꝑ he would declare the same immediatly vnto the king. Philotas departed frõ him vnto the king, w̃ whõ that day he hadde much communication of other thinges, and yet openyd no parte of the same matter which was tolde him by Ceballinus. At nyght as Philotas came forthe, Ceballinus met hym at the court gate, and enquired whether he hadde done his message to the kynge or not. He excused the matter, that he could find hym at no leasure The nexte day Ceballinus mette him againe goynge

Ceballinus

Philotas.

to the

to the kyng and put hym in remembraunce of that he hadde tolde him before, to whom he aunswered that he remẽbred it wel but yet for al that, he disclosed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him, and intended no lenger to defer the thynge, but opened the same to one Metron maister of the kynges armorye: who immediatlye conueyed Ceballinus into the armorye, and wente streyght to the kynge whyche was bathyng, and enfourmed hym of all that he hadde hearde. Alexander then made no delaye, but sente certeine of his guarde to take Dymnus, and after came hym selfe into ỹ armorye. Assone as Ceballinus sawe the king, he ranne to him with greate reioysynge, and sayd: loe, I haue preserued the from the hãdes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all the circumstaunces, and he agayne aunswering to euerye poynte in order. The kynge was earnest to knowe howe long it was sence Nicomachus had geuen hym this infomation & he cõfessed that it was thre dayes. Wherupon the kynge considering that he coulde not with truth haue concelled this matter so longe, commaunded that he shoulde be put in waid. Then cried he out, & declared howe ỹ at the same instaunt he neue of the conspiracy first, he opened it to Philotas, of whõ (he sated) he might enquere the trueth. Therupõ it was demaunded of hym, whether he hadde required Philotas to be broughte to the kynges presence or no. Whyche thynge when the king by his confession perceiued to be true, and that he did stifly abide bi his first tale, he lifted vp his handes to heauen, the teares fallynge from his eyes, greatlye complainynge that Philotas shoulde requite him with suche vntruthe, vnto whom he moste assuredly trusted. Dymnus in the meane sea-

The treason disclosed.

Treason at length bewrayed by some one to the disclosyng of the inuentors.

son

son knowynge for what cause he was sente for, woun-
ded him selfe to death, but it some what letted by thē
that were sente to take him, was broughte before the
kynge, whom as sone as he behelde, sayed vnto him:
Dymnus, what haue I offended the, that thou shoul-
dest thinke Philotas more worthy to be kynge of Ma-
cedon then I. At which wordes Dimnus became
speacheles and castynge forthe a greate sighe, turned
his face from the kynges sight, and fel downe deade.
The kyng called Philotas before him, and sayde: thys
mā whom thou here seest shoulde haue suffered death
if it coulde haue bene proued that he hadde conceiled
two dayes, the treason prepensed againste me.
With the which matter he chargeth ỹ Philotas to whō
(as he sayth) he gaue knowledge immediatly: the more
nere thou act about me so muche more greater is thy
offence, and the fault hadde bene more tollerable in
hym then in the. Howbeit thou haste a fauorable iudge,
for if there be eny thyng that cannot be excused, yet at
the leste it maye be pardoned. To thys Philotas no-
thyng abashed (if the hart maye be iudged by the co-
tenaunce) made aunswere, chat Ciballinus broughte
hym a tale, the reporter wherof was ouer lyght of cre-
dit to be beleued, and that he feared leste by the presen-
tyng of suche a matter whyche did ryse vpon brabling
betwixt two parsōes of euill dispositiō he might haue
bene laughte to scorne: But afterwardes when he once
knewe that Dymnus had slayne him selfe, he was
clearelye then resolued no longer to haue prolonged ỹ
thing. And so falling downe before the kyng, besought
him that he would rather haue respect to his like paste.
then to his fault whiche was only a concealment, and
no act done. It is hard to say, whether the kyng bele-

The kinges
words to
Philotas.

Prepensed.

Philotas
aunswere.

ued.

ued hym or grounded his displeasure more deapely in hys harte, neuertheles in token of pardon, gaue hym his hand, saynge: howe it appeared that thaccusacion was rather miscredited by him. then consealed of malice. Notwithstãding he called hys counsaile together emonges whom Philotas was not admitted, but Nicomachus was brought in before them, where he declared all suche matters as he before hadde shewed to the kyng. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander which for the enuie he had to Philotas aduauncement, bare him alwayes grudge: Who knew very wel that the king had often bene displeased with Philotas, for the ouermuche auaunceing of hys good seruice and valyaunt actes: but yet for al that in those matters he was not suspected of treason but onelye noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that he could not haue a better occasiõ to oppresse his enemy, by colouring his priuate hatred with a pretence of duetye towardes his Prince. Woulde God (quod he) ye had taken our counsaile in the beginning of this matter: for if ye woulde nedes haue pardoned him, ye should haue kept frõ his knowledg howe much he was in your daunger rather then to haue brought him in feare of hys life wherby ye shal make him more myndful of hys owne perell, then of your goodnesse. For he maie alwayes ymagin your death, but you shal not be alwayes in case to pardõ him. Let it neuer sinke in your hart, ẏ he whiche purposed so haynous a treason woulde chaunge hys purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon, you knowe well that such as offende are often in despayre of mercy. And though he perchaũce enher with repentaunce of his faulte, or remẽbraũce of your goodnes houlde chaunce his minde, yet I am sure

Alexander called a coũsell.

Craterus woordes.

ſure that his father Parmenio, generall capitaine of ſo great an armie, and of ſo grounded aucthoritie emongeſt your ſouldiours (that is wyth theym in maner as your ſelfe) woulde be euyll content to be in youre debt for his ſonnes lyfe. There be certaine benefites hatefull to men and it is ſhame to confeſſe to haue deſerued death. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it ſhould be thought you had done hym wronge, thē that ye had geuen him his life. I can not ſee therefore, but you ſhal be enforced to deſtroye theim for youre owne ſuertie. There be enemies inoughe remaynynge yet vnconquered, agaynſt whom we be goyng: make your ſelfe ſure from your foes at home, ſo ſhall ye haue leſſe nede to feare your enemies abroade. These were Craterus wordes and the reſidue of the counſaile were of opinion, that Philotas woulde neuer haue concealed this conſpiracye, excepte he had bene eyther pryncipall or priuy thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honeſt hart, though he had bene none of the kynges familiers but one of his meane ſeruauntes, hearinge ſo muche as Philotas hearde, but woulde forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beynge the ſonne of Parmenio, the maſter of the kynges horſe, & of his priuy coūſaile, did not ſo much as the ſtraunger which ſtraightwaies made relaciō of that his brother had told him. And where as he pretended that ỹ kynge was at no leaſure, that they iudged to be done to thentent the accuſer ſhoulde not ſeke any other to whome he might vtter it. Wher as Nicomachus albeit he was bounde by his othe to the cōtrary: yet woulde he neuer reſt till he had diſcharged his conſcience. But Philotas when he cōſumed in maner the whole day in ſport and paſtime with the kynge, coulde not finde in his

The opiniō of the coūſaile

Relation

harte to caste forthe a fewe wordes, specially in a matter so much concernyng the kynges safeguarde. But admit (quod they) he had geuē no credite to the matter throughe the lightnes of the reporter. why shoulde he haue differred the accuser. ii. dayes, as thoughe he had beleued it. For if he had misliked ẏ tale, he myght haue dismissed the partye. It was also alledged that euerye mans mynde muche misgeueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardye. Muche more oughte men to be credulous when it touched the suertie of a kynges person: in whiche case it oughte to be examined though it be of smale weight. Thei al therfore determined that Philotas shoulde be enforced to disclose ẏ parteners of the conspiracie. The king cōmaundinge thē to kepe the matter secrete, departed, and to the entente no inglynge shoulde appeare of this newe counsaile, he caused it to be proclaimed that the armie should set forwardes the next daye. The same nyght the kynge called Philotas to a banequet, wyth whom he vouchsafed not onely to eate: but also familiarlye to commen, notwithstandinge he hadde before in the counsaile determined his death. After in the second watche of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, and Erigonus which were of the kynges counsaile, came priuelye into the courte without lyghte, and of the esquiers, there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whome commaundement was geuen, that all suche as laye neare the kynges lodging shoulde watche in harneys. By this tyme souldiours were appoynted to al the passages, and horsemen were sent to kepe the wayes, that no man shoulde passe priuely to Parmenio, which then was gouernour of Media wyth a greate power. Then Attalus came into the courte wyth. cce. armed men, vnto whome there were

appointed

appointed ten of those that had the charge of ỹ kynges
p̄son euerye one of th̄e accompanied w̄ ten Esquiers,
which were sorted into diuers companies to take the o-
ther conspiratours. But Ittaras wyth hys. ccc. was
sente to Philotas lodgynge, where wyth fyftye of the
hardiest brake vp his chambre doze that was shutte a-
gaynst them. The residue were commaunded to beset
the house, least he myghte escape by some secrete waye.
Philotas, whether it were throughe the fuertye of hys
owne conscience, oz throughe wearinesse of suche tra-
uayle of mynde, was in so profounde and deade sleape,
that Ittaras brake in vpon him before he wyste. But
at length when he was awaked and come to hym selfe, Philotas ta
perceiuyuge them aboute to bynde hym: he exclamed ken.
and sated: O Alexandze, the malice of mine enemies
haue preuailed aboue thy mercye. Speakynge these
wozdes, they couered his face, & broughte hym into the
courte. The nexte daye the kynge gaue commaunde-
ment that certayne of the men of warre should assem-
ble in harneys to the numbze of. vi. M. besydes slaues
and rascalles that filled full the courte, whiche beynge
assembled together, the guarde compassed in Philotas
with their band, to the entente he shoulde not be espied
of the people, vntil such time as the king might speake
vnto them. Foz by an olde lawe of the Macedons the
kynges in their owne persons were wonte to enquire
in matters of treasō, yet could not ỹ kynges auctho-
tie preuaile to condempnation, excepte it were confyz-
med by the consente of the men of warre. Therefoze
the bodye of Dimnus was first broughte into the place
(the moste parte vnknowynge what he had done oz by
what chaunce he was slaine.) Then came the kynge

forth to speake vnto the multitude, whiche in his countenaunce declared the dolour of his hart, and the sadnesse of such as were nere about him, caused vnto the rest greate expectacion of the matter. He did caste his eyes towardes the earth, and stode longe astonied & in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, & spake vnto them on this wise. By the treason of some men I was al most taken from you, but through the mercye and prouidence of the gods, I am yet preserued. Your honourable presence dothe constreine me more vehemently to be moued against those traitours. Because the onelye comforte and fruite of my lyfe is, that I remayne to geue thankes to so many noble mē, to whom I am so much bounden. With speakyng of these wordes the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale and the teares did fall from their eies. Then the king began agayne hys tale. Howe muche more wyll you be moued when I shal shewe you the authours of so horrible a treason, the rehersall of whome I yet refraine, as one very loth to discouer theyr names. But I must ouercome the memory of my former fauoure, & vtter ỳ conspiracy of my vnnatural people, for how is it possible for me to hide so greate a treason. Parmenio a man of that age so depely in my det, through the most ample benefites both of me and my father, and whome I most estemed of al my frendes, is the captaine and cōtriuer of al this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dymnus (whose body here you se) with other parteners of theyr fury to my destruction. When he came to ỳ point, there rose throughout ỳ multitude a great charme of a murmur and complaint, such as is wont to be emonges a numbre, and specially of men of warre, when they are moued

The Oratiō of Alexandre against Philotas.

moued either wᵗ affection, or displeasure. With ỳ Nichomacus, Metron & Cyballinus were brought forth, euery one of thē geuing in euidence that they had spoken afore. It appeared it not by eny mans tale ỳ Philotas was preuie to that cōspiracie. But at the last whē the noyse was ceassed, & the witnesses had saide al they could, the king proceded in this wise. Of what maner mynd thinke you was this man whyche hearinge the whole report could kind in his hart to conseale the matter thetrueth whereof is well declared by the death of Dimnus. Cyballinus that reported an vncertayne tale, for the trial thereof was afraied of no tormentes, & neuer delaied the moment of time, vntill he had discharged him selfe, insomuch that he brake into ỳ place where I was bathynge, but Philotas onely feared nothing, he beleued nothing. O how gret a hart had this man, which hauinge knowledge of the daunger of hys king, did neuer chaunge countenance, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of thaccuser: but in this silence and consealement there is treason hidde, and the gredy desire he had to reigne, did driue him hed long to attempt extreme mischief. His father is gouernour of Media, and beareth such a stroke emonges the capitaines and men of warre thorowe myne auctoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And because I am without children he esteameth me not. But Philotas is deceiued. I haue children, frendes, and kinsfolke emonges you. So longe as you be in sauegarde, I shal not reckē myselfe without heires: Then did he reside a letter that was taken, whych Parmenio had written to hys sonnes Nicanour, and Philotas, wherein there appeared no greate preuie of eny greater treasō intended. Theffect was this, First take A letter.

good hede to your selues, and then to those that long to you, so shal we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Whiche letter the king enforced, saiyng: it was written after suche a maner, that if it came to his sonnes handes it might be perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knewe it not. Then proceded he: nowe wyll Philotas perhappes say, that when Dymnus named all that were partakers of his conspiracye, he named not him: as for that it is no proufe of his innocēcy, but a token of his power and authoritye, because he was spared of them that might best bewray him, which confessinge of them selues, durste not yet speake of hym. But what maner mā he hath bene, his lyfe doth shew. He was felowe and companion to Amintas my kinsman, whiche conspired highe treason agaynste my persone in Macedon. He gaue hys syster in mariage to Attalus then whome I had neuer greater enemye. When by reason of olde frendshyp and familiaritye I wrote to hym of the title geuen to me by the oracle of Jupiter Hāmon, he did not sticke to aunswere: that he was very glade that I was admitted into the numbre of Goddes, howebeit verye sorye for those that should liue vnder suche one, as would exceade the state of a man. These were playne tokens that hys harte was turned from me, and that he spited my glory. Whyche I kept close in my harte, so longe as I myghte. For I thought my bowels pulled from me, if I shoulde make a little store of them, for whome I had done so mūche. But now it is not their wordes that must be punished, for the rashnes of their tongues is turned to swordes, whyche (beleue me) Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my

souldiers

ſouldiers whether ſhoulde I go: to whome ſhoulde I commit my perſon: He was the man that I made generall of my horſemen, of the greateſt parte of myne army, & of all the noble young gentlemē. To his trouth & fidelitie hau: I committed my ſaueguarde, my truſt, & victory. His father did I preferre vnto the ſame eſtate, whereunto you aduaunced me. Media then whyche there is not a richer countrey, wyth many thouſandes of your frendes and fellowes I haue put vnder his gouernaunce, and auctoritie. Where I truſted of moſte ſuertye, there found I moſt perill. Howe muche more happy had I bene to haue died in battayle, and rather ſlayne of myne enemies, then thus betrated of my ſubiectes. For nowe being ſaued from the daungers that I moſt feared, I haue fallen into thoſe that I oughte to haue doubted leſt. You haue bene wont often times to warne me that I ſhuld regard my ſuertie. It is not that maye make me ſure of that ỹ you counſel me. To your handes & to your ſuccour I flie. I would not lyue though I myght againſt your wylles, and thoughe you would yet can I not, except I be deliuered from theſe my enemies. Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hādes bound behind his back. It well appeared howe muche thys miſerable ſyghte moued them, whych late before enuied him. The daye before they ſawe him generall of the horſemen, they knewe that he was at ſupper wyth the king, & ſodainely they ſaw him both priſoner bounde like a theefe, and alſo condempned to die. So did it pitie their hartes to conſider how Parmenio ſo noble a man ſo great a capitaine, which late hauinge loſt two of his ſonnes Hector, and Nicanor, ſhoulde be put to aunſwere abſente wyth the thyrde ſonne, whom euell fortune hadde lefte hym. The multitude beyng thus enclined to pitye. A-

 Amintas

mintas one of the kings officers, with a cruel tale set thē al against the prisoner: we be al (qd he) betraied to the barbarous nacions, none of vs shall returne home to hys countrey, wife, nor frēdes, but as a maimed body without an heade, without honoure, without fame, in a straunge countrey, shalbe a mocking stock to our enemies. His tale was nothing pleasaūt to ỹ king, because he put the souldiers in the remēbraūce of their wifes & coūtrey, wherby he thought they wold be the lesse willinge to go forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus whych though he had maried the syster of Philotas yet did he more extremely enuye agaynst him thē any other, calling hym traitour against his king, to his countrey, & to the whole army. And therupon toke vp a stone that by chaunce laye at his feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he dyd (as some thought) to the end he myght rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hand, and sayd that the prisoner should haue liberte to speake for hym selfe, and would not suffer hym to be condempned otherwyse. Then Philotas being admitted to speake, were it throughe the conscience of his offece, or through the greatnes of his peril, as a mā astonied, and beside hym selfe, durste neither looke vp nor speake, but burst out into teares. Wherupon hys hart fainted, and he sowned down vpon those that led him. But afterwardes when he had wiped hys eyes, and by little and little recouered his harte and tonge, he made countenaunce to speake. Then the king beheld him in the face and saide: The Macedons shalbe thy iudges. I would knowe therefore whyther thou wylte speake vnto them in thy countrey language, or not: to whome Philotas aunswered: There be diuers nations here beside the Macedons, which as I trust shall perceiue my

Cenus.

my wordes the better, If I vse ỹ same language that you did, bicause the more might vnderstand your tale. Then saied the kinge marke howe this man hath his owne coũtrey tonge in hatred. For there is none but he that wyll disdayne to speake it, but let him say what he wil, so longe as you remembre, that he not only disdayneth our custumes but also our language. And with ỹ word the kyng departed from thassemble. Then saied Philotas. It is easy for an innocent to find wordes to speake, but it is very hard for a mã in misery to keape a temperaunce in his tale. Thus standing betwyxt a cleare cõscience & most vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, & the time both togither. For he ỹ might beste haue iudged my cause is gone, what ỹ cause is he would not heare me, I cannot wel imagen, sith vpon ỹ matter heard, it lieth only in his hãdes both to discharg, & cõdempne me. For the matter not heard, he can not acquite me being absent, since he cõdempned me whẽ he was here present. But notwithstandyng the defence of a prisoner is not only superfluous, but also hateful, which semeth not to enforme, but to reproue ỹ iudge: yet wil I not forsake my selfe, nor so do, that I shal seame cõdempned by mine owne defaulte. I see not of what treason I should be gilty, emong the cõspiratours no man named me. Nichomacus saied nothing of me. Cyballinus could not tel more of me then he heard. And yet doth the king beleue that I should be head of this conspiracye. Was it possible that Dymnus should forget to name him that was cheife? or is it likely ỹ he would haue ouerslipped me, whẽ the names of ỹ conspiratours were demaunded of him: he would rather haue named me falsely to allure the young man the soner to his opinion. yet whẽ

The answere of Philotas.

he

he tolde the matter priuely to Nichomacus, whō he beleued verely would haue kept it secrete, namyng hym selfe and all the rest, of me onely he made no mencion: wherin it can not be gathered that he omitted me, for because he woulde haue spared me. I pray you my felowes, if no man had come to me, nor geuen me knowlege of the matter, should I this daye haue bene put to answere, whē no man could haue accused me: But be it that Dymnus were aliue & wold spare me. what thinke ye by the other: would they cōfesse of thē selues, & forbeare me: aduersitie is subiecte to many miseries. An offender & hē he is punished him selfe, dseth not to kepe silence to spare another man. Cōmonlye he that goeth to death wyl spare no mā, nor no mā wil spare him that is ready to dye, & yet so many as be gilty and put to tormentes, wil there none confesse the trueth: But now I must answere to the poynt ẏ was offence, if there were eny. Why did I conceale treason: why did I heare it with so small regard: this fault, if it were a fault, thou hast pardoned me (O Alexander) whersoeuer thou art by geuyng me thy hand, & biddyng me to thy banquet in token of atonemēt. If you did beleue me, I am clere If you forgaue me, I am quite. Stande at the least to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I done sence this last nyght I went from your bourde: What new reporte hath chaunged your mynde: I reasted in a sounde sleape, when myne enemies by their bindyng waked me, that was sleapyng in myne owne misfortune: Offendours when they can not sleape throughe their vnquiet cōscience are wonte to be vexed wich rages, not onely when their mischiefe is intended, but also when it is ended. But this quietnes came vnto me firste through myne owne innocencye, and then by the

Aduersitie is subiecte to many miseries.

kinges

kinges pardō. I feared not that others cruelty should take more place, then his mercye. But least he shoulde forthynke that beleued me, ye shall vnderstande that the matter was first shewed me by a light felowe, who coulde not bring eny witnes or warrante of his tale, whiche if I had disclosed, shoulde haue put many men to trouble. O vnhappy manne, I thought mine eares had bene seduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, & I suspected the trothe of the partye, because he did not vtter the matter him selfe, but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one shoulde haue denied that euer he shewed eny suche matter to the other, and then shoulde I haue seamed to procure muche trouble to manye of the kinges frendes. So that where I offended none, I haue found some more desirous to procure my deathe, then to saue my life. What hatred suppose ye should I haue gotten if I had accused innocētes: But Dymnus slew him selfe, could I therfore diuine afore that he would so do: no surely. Thus his death beyng the thing that only tried the accusation true, could not moue me to vtter it, beyng preuēted by an other. And if I had bene cōspiratour with Dymnus of so greate a treason: It is not like that I would haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was discouered: As for Ceballinus, it had bene smal mastery to haue dispatched him out of the waye. After the thing disclosed, wherfore should I haue delated the matter: I entred into the kinges chambre alone, hauing weapon about me, why deferred I my purpose: durste I not attempt it without Dymnus: No perchaunce ye will saye, because he was the chiefe conspiratour. How then standeth it together, that I shoulde be his vnderling which did couet to be king of Macedon: whiche of

you

you al haue bene corrupt of me with bribes, what captaine, what officer, haue I made of aboue other? It is layed to my charge that I abhorre the speakynge of my coūtrey language, and that I disdaine the maners of the Macedons. What? dooe I despise the kyngdome that I couet? Ye knowe well that oure naturall toungue throughe the conuersation of straunge nacions is gone out of vre, as well we that be victorours, as they that be subdued must learne a newe language. But surelye these thinges make no more against me, then did the treason that Amintas the sonne of Perdicas intended against the kynge. Wyth him I had frendeshippe I will not denye, except ye will make it a thing vnlawful to loue the kinges brother. But sithēce it was our dutye to honour a man called to that degre of fortune, I beseche you am I giltye because I could not gesse before that he would offend? Is the lawe such that the frendes of offenders must suffer beyng innocentes? If that be reason, why liue I so long? if it be no reason, why am I cōdempned to dye? But thē I wrote that I had pity of thē that should liue vnder such a one as beleued him selfe to be the sōne of Jupiter. O faithful frendship & daungerous libertie of true counsaile, ỹ deceiued me that compelled me not to hide ỹ I thought I confesse that I wrote so to the kinge, but not of the kyng. I did it not for spite, but for my duties sake. I thought it more mete for Alexander to haue knowleged the kinred of Jupiter wyth silence, then to haue made aduaunte therof with vaine boastyng. But for because the truth of gods Oracle is certaine, let God be witnes in my cause. Retaine me in prison tyll ye may know Jupiters aunswere cōcerning this conspiracie. And in the meane season he that hath vouchsaued our

king

kyng to be his sonne, will suffer none of thē that haue conspired agaynst his offspring, to be vnknowen. If you suppose tormentes more certayne then Oracles, I wyll not desire to be saued from them in triall of the trueth. There is an olde vsage that suche as be put to aunswere vpon life and death, are wont to bryng their parentes and kinsfolkes before you. Two brothers of late haue I loste, my father neyther can I bryngе forth, nor dare call for, bicause he is accused of this treasone likewyse. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of many childrē, and hauyng but one sonne left in whom to take pleasure, not onelye to lose him, but also to lose his owne lyfe with him? Therefore my most deare father shalt thou die for me, and wt me it is I that take thy lyfe from thee. It is I that ende thyne olde dayes. Why diddest thou beget me vnhappy wretche in hatred of the gods? to take such fruite by me, as is prepared for the. I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very floure of myne yeres am weded vp, & the executioner shal bereaue the thy lyfe: whiche if fortune would haue suffred to continue, yet nature would haue asked it or it had ben long The remembraūce of my father doth put me in minde, how loth and timerous I ought to haue bene to the reporte of tales. For whē my father was enfourmed that Philip the phisician had prepared poison for Alexandre, he wrote a letter to warne the kyng, that he should not receiue the medicine, which his Phisicio had prepared: was my father beleued? was his letter of eny authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such thinges as I hearde, how ofte haue I bene shakē of with a checke for my light beliefe. So ỹ when we tell thinges we are hated, & whē we hold our peace we are suspected: what

would

would you haue vs do? Then one of the company that stode by, cryed out, ỹ none ought to be traytours to thē which put them in trust. Thou saiest wel (qd Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therfore if I haue done treason, I require no respite of my payne. And here will I make an end of speakyng, because my last wordes seme tedious to your eares. As he was speaking these wordes his kepers led him away. There was emōges the captains one Belon, a hardy mā but very rude of al honest maner & ciuilitye, who beyng an olde souldier, was promoted frō low estate, to the rowme of a captaine. This Belon presumyng vpon a foolishe audacitie (when al others had done) began to tell thē: that when diuers had taken vp their lodginges in the campe, how they were thrust out by the seruauntes of Philotas, which would lay their baggage, where other men were placed before. And how all the streates were full of his wagons, ladē with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffer none to lodge nere him, but alwayes appointed certaine to waite whiles he slept, which should voide al men a louke, to the entent he should not be disquieted wt eny noise, not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasyng. And how he was so haute that he dispised the plaine men of Phrigia, & Paphlagonia, and being a Macedō borne, would not be ashamed to heare men of his owne nation by an interpreter. And where as Philotas had before moued to haue ỹ Oracle of Iupiter enquired of, he saide it was ment therby to make God a lyer, for knowledging Alexāder to be his sonne, as though eny man should enuy the kyng for that title which the Goddes had geuen him. But why (qd he) did he not aske cōsaile of Iupiter before he did offēd. For none he would haue vs send for an Oracle, that in the

Belons enuydēce.

meane

meane seasō his father which ruleth in Media, might raise a power vp, & with the money ꝑ he hath in custody assemble desperate persones to the felowshyp of hys mischiefe. Neuertheles we shall (qd he) send to Jupiter, not to enquire of eny thing towching the matter, but to geaue him thankes, & do him sacrifice, for ꝑ preseruation of so good a king. Then all the cōpany was moued, and emōges the kinges houshold there began a crye that the traytoure shoulde be rente in peaces. Whyche thyng Philotas (who feared more greuous punyshement) was content to heare. The king returnyng into the preasse deferryd the coūsayle til the next daye. for to commit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the meane season to gette further knowledge of thinges. And albeit, it drue towardes night, yet commaunded he his coūsayle to be called together. Some of them thought it best Philotas shold be stoned to death after the Macedōs lawes. Ephestiō Craterus, and Cenus determined to haue the trouth tried by tormentes, and then they which counseled the contrary turned to their oppinion. Therefore when the counsel was broken vp, Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus arose to take Philotas theraminacion. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commaūding there resse to auoide, had secret cōmunicaciō with him in the innermoste parte of his lodging the effect wherof came not to eny mans knowledge. And ther taried tyll the night was farre passed, to heare thend of theraminaciō The executioners set forth al sortes of cruel tormētes in ꝑ sight of Philotas, who of hys owne mind said vnto them: Why deferre you to kill such one as hath cōfessyd him selfe ꝑ kinges enemy and a traytour? what nedeth more examinaciō? It was myne intent It was my

Philotas racked.

my wyll. Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, should be cõfessed of Philotas againe vpon the racke. Whiche whiles he was taken vp, hys eyes bounden, and spoyled of his clothes cried out vpõ the lawe of nature, and the Goddes of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deffe eares. Finally as a condempned man, he was torne with moste extreame tormentes by his enemies, that wrong him sore for the kinges pleasure. And notwithstandyng that bothe fire and scourges were ministred vnto hym, more to payne him, then for eny examininacions sake, yet he had power of him selfe to refrayne both from speakyng and gronyng. But after that his bodye beganne to be bolne with Stripes, and that he coulde not abyde the scourges whiche pearsed vnto the bare bones. Then he promised if they woulde tormente hym no more, he woulde confesse whatsoeuer they shoulde requyre to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander that they shoulde cease their tormẽtes, & set the racke aside. The which thing obteyned, he saied to Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue me to cõfesse: Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinkyng by those wordes ỹ he had mocked him, & caused his tormentes to be renued. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whiles he myght take his breath, & then he woulde vtter all that euer he knewe. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, & especially such as were nere to Parmenio in eny degre of kinred, after that the fame had bruted that Philotas was tormẽted, fearing the Macedõs law (wherin it was ordeined that the kinsfolke of such as had done treason against the king, shold be put to death wt the traytors.) Some slew them selues, some fled into wilde mountaynes, and waste

The confession of Philotas.

waste wildernesses, & great dread & feare fell through e all the host, vntil such time as the kyng hauyng knowlege of that vproze, made proclamation ỹ he would pardon the rigour of the lawe to the kinskolke of the traytours. But in cõclusion Philotas made this cõfession, whether it were to deliuer him selfe out of paine, by accusyng him selfe falsely oz not, it is doubted: seeing it is cõmunely sene, that both such as truely cõfesse, & falsely denye, come all to one ende. You are not ignozaunt (quod he) how familier my father was wt Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the feild: he was the cause of all our mischiefe: Foz whẽ the king toke vpon him the title of Jupiters sonne, he disdayned therat. Shal we knowlege him (quod he) to be our king ỹ taketh scozne that Philip was his father? We are al vndone if we can sufker this. He dothe not onely despise men, but ỹ Gods also, which wil be reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, we haue lost our kyng. We are fallen to presumption, nether tollerable to the Gods wyth whom he cõpareth, neither to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs? which disdayneth to be in the numbze of men? Trust me ỹ we also if we be men, shall be adopted likewise of the Gods. Who hath reuẽged the deathes of Alexander his great grandfather, oz of Archilaus, oz Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath fozgeuen them that slew his father. These were the wozdes that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the mozowe earlye my father sent foz me, who was heauy, and sawe me sadde, foz we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therefoze to proue whether he babled those wozdes through excesse of wine, oz of an aduised purpose cõtenued before, we thought good to sende foz him, & seekyng

occacion of ỹ same cõmunicatiõ, he of his owne mind said further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shrynke from vs or if our hartes serued not, he would kepe our counsayle. Yet so long as Darius was liuyng my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexãder should be to the auaile of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once ridde out of the waye, then he that could destroy the kynge, should obtaine the empire of Asia and all the orient for his reward: whiche coũsaile being approued, faythe and trouth was geuen therupon, but concernyng Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all thys matter, I perceyue (quod he) that it dothe not auayle me that I am vttetlye giltles of thys treason. Then thei renued his tormentes againe, and so beate hys face and his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, vntil they enforced him, not onely to cõfesse of him selfe, but also to shewe the circumstaunces of the whole treason prepẽced. Because (quod he) it semed ỹ the kyng would sojourne long emong the Bactriãs, I was afraied least my father that had so great a power in his handes, and the keping of so much treasure, (beyng .lxx. yere of age) should happe to die in the meane season, & thẽ being disarmed of so great a strẽgth, should not get opportunitie to slea the king. Wherfore I hasted the matter, while the pray was in hand. Thus discouered he the conspiracye, wherof if thei beleuid his father to be auethour (he saied) for his trial he refused not to be tormented againe, though it were to greuous for him to endure. The officers then whisperyng together, thought the examination to be sufficiente, & returned therwythal to the kyng, which on the morowe caused al the cõfessiõ there to be openly recited

The second confessiõ of Philotas.

whysperynge

before

before Philotas, whō he cauſed to be ledde into the place
becauſe he was not able to go thither where he cōfeſſed
all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought Demetrius.
forth, which was counted the greateſt doer in this con-
ſpiracye next to Philotas. But he with great proteſta-
cion, and incredible ſtoutnes both of hart and counte-
naunce, denied ẏ he euer entended eny euil againſt the
kyng, & for his trial deſired to be tormented. Thē Phi-
lotas caſtyng his eyes about, ſpied one Calis ſtanding Calis.
by, and made a ſigne to him to draw nere. Who beyng
abaſhed, and refuſyng to come forwardes. Wilt thou
(quod he) ſuffer Demetrius to lye, & me to be ſtreyned
againe? With thoſe wordes Calis became ſpeachles, &
chaūged colour. Thē the Macedons began to ſuſpect
that he would accuſe innocentes, becauſe the ſame Ca-
lis was neither named by Nichomacus, nor by Philo-
tas him ſelfe in his tormentes. But finallye Philotas
before the kinges officers ſtāding therabout, confeſſed
that all the treaſon was cōſpired by him ſelfe and De-
metrius. Wherfore as many as were appeached bi Ni-
chomacus ẏpon a token geuen, were ſtoned to death
accordyng to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexan-
der deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life but
alſo of his ſurety. For Parmenio and Philotas beyng
of ſuch power, if they had not opēly bene found culpa-
ble, coulde not haue bene condēpned without the great
grudge of the army. So long therfore as Philotas de- Philotas
nied the thing, the matter ſeamed doubtfull, and many put to death
men thought him cruellye handeled. But after he had for conceiuinge
confeſſed the circumſtaūces, no man, not ſo much treaſon, not
as his neare frendes toke eny pitye of him. diſcouerynge it.

The seuẽth boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander, Kyng of Macedon.

(f)

LIke as the menne of warre thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence beyng fresshe in memorie, euen so after he was gone, whō they before hated, their enuy was turned to pitye. The noblenes of the young man moued them muche, so did the remẽbraunce of the olde yeres and desolatiō of his father. He was the firste that made the waye open for Alexãder into Asia, alwaies partaker of his perils, as he which in the warres was euer captaine of his boward, chiefe a coũsaile with the kyng his father, and so trusty to Alexander him selfe, ẏ in oppressyng of Attalus his enemy he wold vse none other mans seruice. The remembraunce of these thinges was ripe emong all the souldiers, & sedicious wordes came to the kyng's eares, who being little moued therwith, did wisely with trauaile auoide the euil occasiōs comming of idlenes: Wherefore he made it to be proclaymed that al menne should be in readines before the court gate, where they being once assembled he came forth to speake vnto thē And as it was before deuised, required the band of the Agrians to bryng forth one Alexander Lyncestes, whiche long before Philotas, had cōspired ẏ kinges death. This man beyng accused of two witnesses (as afore is said) had remained in prisō .iii. yeres together. Against whom it was proued that he was of counsayle wyth Pausanias in the killynge of kynge Philippe. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of kyng, hys punishment was deferred, rather then his offence

Alexander Lyncestes.

for:

forgeuen. For at the intercessiō of Antipater his father in lawe, the king had respited his iust indignacion for the time. But the old festred sore brake out againe, and the cōsideration of his perill present, renued the remēbraunce of his daunger passed. Therfore when he was brought forth of prison, & commaunded to saye for him selfe, albeit he had .iii. yeres leasure to deuise his aunswere, yet stammeryng and tremblyng coulde bring forth but little of that whiche he purposed to saye. And finally, both his hart & his memory failed him. Wherefore there was none that doubted, but that his fearfulnes was a token of a gylty conscience, and no default of memory, so that whiles he was staggeryng and hacking in his tale, they that stode next thrust him through with their pikes: whose body conueyed out of the place the kynge commaunded Amintas and Symmannas to be brought forth, for Palemon their yongest brother after he had knowledge of Philotas torment, fledde away. Of al Philotas frendes, these .ii. were most deare vnto him, & throughe his commendation, aduaunced to high & honorable offices. The kyng remembryng with what earnestnes and labour Philotas had brought thē into his fauour, doubted not but thei were priuy to this last conspiracie. Wherupon he declared to the multitude, that he had occasion of suspicion against those mē long ago by his mothers letters, wherby he had warnyng to beware of them, & that now fearyng the sequel of worser inconueniences had made them sure, enforced therunto by apparant presumptions. First he saied the daye before Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowen that they had much conference with him in secrete, and also their brother whiche fledde awaye when Philotas was on the racke. had declared by the

mhil ymdepos' est tymor' mw mmmerk, & l mmistmte' in mtmy tymor' dessemerk, but not forgeuen.

stameringe

staggering and hacking

Amintas & Simmānas brought to iudgement.

Alexāders accusatiō against them

ablēting of him self ỳ cause of his flyyng. He shewed al so ỳ of late, cōtrary to their accustomed maner of waiting, wout eny cause mouing thē therunto, but only by pretēce of diligēce, preased nexte about the king of al other, wherat marueilynge ỳ they wold furnish a rowme wherunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt their of clustering together, ỳ he returned into ỳ traine of ỳ gentlemen that folowed him. He declared besides that when Antiphanes clarcke of the stable, the day before Philotas treason came to lyght, accordyng to his accustomable maner, gaue knoweledge to Amyntas that he shoulde deliuer of his horse to suche as had lost their owne. He proudelye aunswered agayne, that excepte he woulde contente him selfe, he shoulde knowe shortely what maner of man he was. Which violence of toung and rashenes of wordes, bulked out (quod he) was nothing elles but a declaration and token of his trayterous harte. These thinges beyng true (he saied) thei hadde no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they were otherwise, he desired they myght aunswere vnto the poyntes. Therupon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horse not deliuered, and of his proud aunswere geuen with threatenyng. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, he desired of the king ỳ whiles they ānswered for thē selues, their bādes might be losed, which thing obtayned he made suite to haue his garment cast vpō him. Which Alexander not only graūted, but willed also such a wepō to be deliuerd to his handes as other esquires vsed. When he had receiued the same, he eschued a litle the place where the corps of Lincestes laye, & saied in this wise: Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir kyng) we muste thinke if our chaunce be good, ỳ same to procede of your fauour, and if it be euil, we muste iudge the fault to be in our fortune

To
fynysshe a rowme wherunto they were not appointed.

taken vnder-
stonded of some
good vnderwri-
ter

Antiphanes
mynded
symplesse
symplenesse.

Thanswere of Amyntas

ſune, ſeyng you ſuffer vs to pleade our cauſe without
preiudice, ſettyng our mindes free, and our bodies at
large, with the ſame apparaile reſtored vs, wherin we
were wont to folow you. Our cauſe is ſuch that we can
not doubt of it, and we are paſſed the feare of fortune.
Therfore with your fauour I wil aunſwere firſt thoſe
poyntes wherwith you charged vs laſte. We knowe
moſte aſſuredlye that we be innocente of eny kinde of
wordes ſpokē to the derogation of your maieſtye. And
durſt affirme that you had ouercome all enuye of men,
but that peraduenture you woulde thinke that I went
about with fayre wordes to excuſe thinges ẏ haue bene
maliciouſly ſpoken. Though it were ſo ẏ wordes ſome-
time did eſcape vs, either when we were fainte, or we-
ried in marching, haſardyng our ſelues in fightyng, or
elles when we were ſicke, or dreſſyng of our woundes,
our honeſt doings otherwiſe do deſerue, that ye ſhould
rather impute the ſame to ẏ time, then to eny euil diſpo-
ſition in vs: For it is communely ſene where eny thing
chaunceth amiſſe, all menne in maner become giltye of
this fault. We do violence ſometyme to our owne bo-
dyes whiche we hate not. Yea, the comunyng of the fa-
thers vnto the children ſometyme is both vngratefull,
and alſo hatefull. But on the other ſide, when we re-
ceyue rewardes or gyftes, or whē we come laden home
wyth ſpoyle, who can then ſtaye vs: who can reſtreyne
oure chearefulnes: or who can reſiſte our courage in
fightyng: The nature of man is neither to kepe mea-
ſure in diſpleaſure, nor in gladneſſe. Thus are we dri-
uen by the violence of affection, ſometyme with pitye,
and ſometime with furye, as our preſent deſire doth go-
uern vs. One while we are in mind to paſſe through In
dia as far as ẏ Oceā ſea, & by & by the memory of our

The nature of man, &c.

wiues, children and countrey, cal vs backe againe, and dothe alter our purpose. But as sone as the trumpet bloweth, streight all these imaginacions do passe away, and euery manne then runneth into his araye, reuengyng vpon their enemies, the displeasures conceiued within their lodgynges. I woulde Philotas hadde offended but onely in wordes, I would passe ouer that and returne to the other pointe, wherof we be accused. The frendshyppe that was betwixte Philotas and vs, I wyll not onely not denye, but also confesse that we did couet the same, and receiued therby great commoditie. Do you marueile that we did honour and esteme the sonne of Parmenio, whom you did chose to be next aboute your persone, and did aduaunce aboue all other your frendes? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the trueth) are the cause of this our peryll. What other thing moued vs to couet Philotas frendeshyppe, then that we desired to please you. By his preferrmente we were aduaūced to that degree of your fauour. He stode in such case with you, that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we shoulde repute your enemies our enemies: and honoure your frendes as oure owne? Should we haue bene founde disobediēt in this bonde of our duty: and specially towardes him, whom ye did preferre aboue al mē. If this be a faulte, ye haue fewe innocentes, or surely none at all. All men desired to be Philotas frendes, but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye wyll make no differēce betwene the parteners of his treason, and suche as were his frendes, then so many be offenders as would haue bene his frendes. What presūption haue you noure that we should offende? I thinke because yesterdaye Philo-

All men are glad of the friendship of him, that wo'n favor of the King.

tas

tas talked wᵗ vs familiarly alone. Therof I cā not excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaūged eny thing of mine accustomed maner & liuyng. But if so be we vsed euery day to do the like, then custome muste nedes make it to be none offēce. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes & me. If that be a iust cause of suspection that I woulde not then deliuer my horses, there shal a ryse a doubtful plee betwene the denier and the demaunder, sauynge that his cause is better that kepeth still his owne, then his that requireth a nother mans. I had ten horses, of the which Antiphanes had distributed. viii. to such as hadde loste their owne, so there remayned onely two, whiche when he woulde proudly, and wrongfully haue taken awaye I was enforced to kepe them stil, excepte I woulde haue serued on fote. I can not denye but thys communication was had betwene a man of a fre stomake, & a person of a vile nature, which could do no maner seruice, but take away mēs horses, & geue thē to other. What mischief is this, ꝯ at on time I must purg my selfe both to the kinge and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynte that your mother did write to you of vs as of your enemies. I wold god she had more wise lybene carefull of her sōnes sauf guard, thē doubtfully imagined such fained figures. Why doth she not also expresse ꝯ cause of hir fear: Besides she sheweth not her auctour, nor yet signifieth one word wherby shee was moued to writ to you such letters of fear. O wretched estate of mine, which standeth in lesse hasarde to holde my peace thē to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe. I had rather mine excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remembie when ye

sente

sente me to fetch newe souldiours out of Macedon & then ye shewed me ꝑ in your mothers house there lurked many lusty yoūg gētlemen, wherfore ye cōmaūded me that in executinge your cōmission I shoulde spare none but bryng wyth me perforce al such as refused ꝑ warres. Which thynge I dyd, and fulfylled your wyll therein more largely then was expediente for me. For I brought vnto you Gorgeas. Hecateus, and Gorgata whyche nowe minister vnto you ryghte acceptable seruice. What creature therefore is more wretched thē I: which if I had not fulfilled your wyl, should rightfully haue suffered, and now perysshe because I obeyed you. For truely there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour. I brought vnto you of Macedons. vi. M. fotemen & viii. hundred horsemen, of the whiche the more part would not haue folowed me. If I hadde released suche as woulde not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as muche as your mother is displeased wyth vs for youre cause, that ye mitigate her in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Palemon.

Whiles Amintas was thus pleadynge hys cause, they ꝑ had pursued hys brother Palemō (of whom we spake before) came leadynge him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people coulde scarcely be pacified, but as the maner was in such cases, they woulde haue stoned Palemon to deathe. Yet he boldely spake to them and saied. I desier no fauour for my selfe, so that my kliyng be not hurtful to the innocencie of my brethren, whome if ye can not thinke cleare, let the fault be layed to me. For their matter appeareth the better, because I which fled awaie am suspected. Assone as he had spokē these wordes, the whole assemble weer inclined in his fauour

and

and resolued to teares, being so sodainely so contrary turned, that nowe they were al conuerted on his part, whyche a little before were al agaynste him. He was in the prime floure of his youth, and throughe other mens feare, fled awaye emonges those horsemen, which were amased at Philotas tormentes. His company had left him behynd, and whyles he was in doubte whether he myghte turne againe, or flee futher forwardes, was taken by them whiche pursued after him. He then began to weape, and beate hym selfe aboute the face, not so much lamentyng his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren beyng in daunger for his cause, wyth whiche his behauour he moued the kynge, and al the company there present. Onelye his brother Amintas coulde not be pacified, but behelde him wyth a fierce countenãce, & saied: O madde creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou diddest put thy spores to thy horse, as a traytoure to thy brethren, and a companion of treatours. Thou wretche, whether and from whence diddist thou flye? Thou haste nowe brought to passe that bothe I am thoughte worthy of deathe, and also muste become an accuser of other. Philemon thereupon confessed hym selfe to haue offended in that poynte, but more greuously agaynste hys brethren, then towardes him selfe. Then the multitude could not abstayne from weping and showting: being tokẽs whereby men in an assemble are wounte to declare their affections, and wyth one consente they cried all to the king wyth one voice, that he shuld spare innocentes, & of mẽ seruice, his frẽdes also vpon ỳ occasiõ did rise, & wt weping eyes required the kyng of mercye. Then he commaunded silence, and sayed: By myne owne iudgemente I do pardon bothe you Amyntas, and youre brethren, Amintas pardoned.

brethren, desirous that ye shoulde be more myndfull of my benefite then of your owne iniquitie. Come in fauoure againe with me with that fidelitie I am reconsiled vnto you. Except those thinges which were brought in euidence had bene debated and tried to the vttermost, my dissimulacion mighte haue bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therfore to be cleared, then to remaine in Jelousy, and thinke that no man can be acquited, except he be first detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy brother, & let that be a token of thy hart reconsiled vnto me. This done, the kyng dismissed the assēble and sent for Poledamas, whom of al men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stande next hym in battayle. And though the clerenes of hys conscience dyd assure him to come boldelye, yet after he was commaūded to bryng forth his brethren beyng but young, and vnknowen to the kynge, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubte, imagening in hys mynde rather such thynges as myght hurte hym, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the meane season the guarde whych had commaundemente thereunto broughte forth hys brethren. When the kynge sawe Poledamas pale for feare, he called hym neare, and commaundynge all men a parte, sayed vnto hym: Throughe Parmenios treason, we were all in daunger, but chiefely I and thou, whome vnder coloure of frendshyppe he deceyued most: In the pursuynge and punishemente of whome, see howe much I truste thy fidelitye, for I am determined to vse the as a minister therein, and whiles thou goest aboute it, thy brethrē shalbe thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Media and beare my letters to my officers, writtē wyth myne owne hande. It is necessarye haste be made, that the swiftnes of the fame may be preuented. I wyll that ye

Poleds ..as

Alexanders wordes to Poledamas

come thether in the nighte, and that the tenoure of my writing be executed ỳ daye after. Ye shal carye letters likewise to Parmenio one from me and an other written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custody. So that when Parmenio shall se bothe you, & the letter sealed with his sonnes ringe, he wilbe without any suspition. Polidamas being thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligẽce a great deale more earnestlye, then he was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, bothe commended hys good wil, and rewarded him accordynglye. And Polidamas chaunged his owne apparell, and toke other after the Araby fashion, with two men of the same countrey to be his guides for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels throughe suche places as were deserte for lacke of moysture, and within .xi. dayes came to their iourneys ende, before eny knewe of their commynge. Polidamas then toke agayne hys Macedons apparell, and in the deade of the night, came into Cleanders lodgyng, which had the chiefe auctoritye there, next vnto Parmenio: When Cleander by his letters vnderstode ỳ kinges pleasure, Polidamas hauynge more letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreed by the spryng of the day to go al togethers vnto Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamas arriual, who reioysyng both for the cõming of his frẽd. and for the desire he had to know of the kinges estate, (the rather because he had receiued no letter from hym a longe space) commaunded Polidamas to be soughte out. The houses of that countrey haue large backesydes, and pleasaunt orchardes ful of trees: beyng the chiefe delyghte of prynces, and greate lordes there.

The tyrrell determynd the tyme, to put the matter in execution.

Cleander.

The

The capitaines which had receiued commaundement by the kynges letters to kyll hym, came to Parmenio, walkyng vnder the shadow of the trees, being agreed emonges them selues to execute the thynge, when he should begynne to reade his letters. So sone as Parmenio had spied Polidamas comming afarre of, wyth a semblaunt of ioye (as it appeared by his countenãce) ranne to embrace him, and after salutacion geuen ech to other deliuered the kynges letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded of Polidamas what the king intended to do: you shall know that (quod he) by the contentes of your letters. Which whẽ he had read. I perceiue (quod Parmenio) that the kyng purposeth a voyage againste the Arocholians, surelye he is a paynefull prince, and neuer in rest. But now we after so much glory wonne, it were time for hym to take his ease, & haue consideracion of his healthe and sauegarde. And then he reade the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyfull as appeared by his counte-
Parmenio slaine
naunce. With that Cleander stabbed him wyth hys sword into the side, & after striking him ouer the throte, the residue thurst him in as he lay dying. But Parmenios men which stode neare at hand & saw the murder, wherof they knew not the cause, ran into the cãpe, & with their troublous tidinges, set all the souldiers in a roze. They ran streight to harneis, & clustringe together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamacion, that except Polidamas & the other doers of that dede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrow ẏ wal, & make sacrifice to theyr deade capitaine, w̃ the bloud of ẏ offẽders. Cleander wylled the chief of thẽ to be let in, & recited the kinges letters wherin was cõteined the treasõ of Parmenio intẽded

against

againste him, with a requeſt to them to ſe it reuenged. Then immediatly vpon the kynges pleaſure knowen the ſedicion was appeaſed, but the grudge was not rid out of their hartes. The moſt part departed, ſauynge a fewe whyche required inſtauntely that at the leſte they might be ſuffered to bury the body. It was denied the long by reaſon of Cleander who dreaded the kynges diſpleaſure, but becauſe they beganne to waxe more earneſt, intending to auoyde matter of ſedicion, he cut of the heade which he ſent to the kynge, and lefte them the body to bury. This was ỹ end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace, many thynges hadde he done valiaũtly without the king, but the kyng without him did neuer eny thyng worthy prayſe. He ſerued and ſatiſfied in al affaires, a kynge moſt happy & fortunate. and beinge .lxx. yeares of age, executed the office of a capitaine as luely as though he had bene younge in yeares, and pretermitted not oftentimes the partes of a common ſouldier. He was quicke in counſel, doubtie of dede, welbeloued of al princes, but moſte deare to the common ſorte of ſouldiers. Yet whether thoſe thynges dyd moue him to couet to be kynge, or els cauſed hym to be ſuſpected thereof, it is yet doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas ſpake, when he was ouercome with the paines in his laſte tormentes were true or falſe, or els that he ſought an ende of his paine by accuſynge him ſelfe falſely, it was muche doubtful, ſeinge there was nothyng proued at ſuch tyme as the matter was moſt freſhe in memory. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were ſeperated from the reſt of the armye, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas they^r Capitayne, whyche in tymes paſte was of neare familiartye wyth Parmenio

Parmenio a graue counſellor, a good ſouldeour, and a true ſubiect, for ought that could be proued against him, would God we had moe ſodeine murders.

Leonidas.

nio, the king bare preuie displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposicion of euery mã, gaue warnyng throughe out the army, that all suche as woulde write into Macedonia, and haue their letters suerly conueied, should bringe them to be caried wyth such as he would send. Wherupõ euery man did write frãkely to their frendes, such thinges as were in their hartes. Some shewed them selues to be offended wt the longe warres, and some semed to be well pleased. But al their letters were intercepted, aswell of such as commended the kyng, as of those that grudged at hys doynges. Wherefore he wylled such as by their letters disclosed them selues to be wery of the trauayle of the warres, for their reproche to be put in a bande aparte from the rest. Wherby he both gaue theym occasion to shewe their hardines, and besides remoued the libertie of their tounges, from the credulous eares of the rest. Whiche rashe deuise, as all other thinges, turned to the setting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in al extremities they shewed them selues the redyest and the mooste forwarde, and whyles they coueted to redeame their reproche, their valiaunt doinges could not be hid den in so smale a numbre seperate by them selues.

Arians. These thinges beinge ordred after thys maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaymed hys iourney against the Araspians, which by chaungynge of their name, were called Euergitans, since the tyme that they releaued Cirus army wt lodging & victualles being afflicted with cold and penury. It was the fifte daye before he entred into their countrey, wher he vnderstode that Satibarzanes which toke Bessus part, was with a power of horsemen entered agayne emonges the Arians. He sent against him Caranus & Erigius,

Euergitans

gius, and in their ayde Artabasus, and Andromacus, with syxe thousand Greke fotemen, and syxe hundred horsemen. Alexander continued .lx. dayes in settynge order emonges the Euergitans vpon whome he bestowed a great somme of monye, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towardes Cirus, and leuing Amenides to be their gouernour, (who was Darius secretarye), he wente to subdue the Arachosians, which border vpon the sea of Ponte. The men of warre that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, beynge syxe thousand Macedons, with two hūdred of the nobilite, v. M. Greake footemen, and two hundred horsemen. which were the chiefest force of al his power. To these Arachosians, Mennon was appointed lieutenaunte wyth .iiii. thousand footemen, and .vi. C. horsemen. Alexander from thēce entred wyth his army into a coūtrey not knowen to such as bordered vpō it for thinhabytauntes would not haue cūuersacīō wyth eny other people. Thei were called Paramisadans being a rusticall kynd of men, and most rude emonges al the barbarous nacions: the hardnes of the countrye had so indurated their dispositiōs. They lye moste towardes the coold north pole, joyning with the Bactrians vpon the west. and bendinge towardes the Indian sea vpon the south. They vse to build their houses of bricke, and because the land is full of bareyne mountaynes & voyde of timbre they make their whole houses of the same. Whych beginning broade beneth, growinge euermore narrow towardes the top, ende like the keles of a shyp, wher as ỹ holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of theyr vynes and trees that bringe forthe fruite as they wyll preserue from the violence of the colde, they couer thē with earth during the winter season, & when

Aruenides.

Arachosiās

Mennon.

Paramisadans.

the snowe is banished away, they restore them agayne to the ayer and to the sunne. The earth was there couered with such snow frosen so heard, that there remained no sygne of eny bird or beast within the countrey. The ayre besides was so darke that little light appeared, but the earth couered as it were wyth a dimme shadowe, mē could scarsly deserne thinges very neare at hand. The army broughte into this countrye destitute of al cultiuacion of man, suffered al the discomodities and miseries that mighte be endured, both of hungre, colde, werynes, and dyspayre. There were manye of them that died for colde, and the snowe distroyed their feete, but specially it perished manye mennes syghte. When they were wearied and not able to trauaile eny further, they laied them selues downe vpon the frosen snowe, and hauynge once lefte the moeion of their bodies, whyche stirred in them their naturall heate, they were streighte wayes so nummed for colde, that they could not ryse agayne tyll they were lift vp by their cōpanions. And reamedy was ther none in thys matter, but to compel them to go forwardes, for thē by sturring of them selues their naturall heate was reuiued, and they recouered agayne some strength. Suche as recouered the cotages wherin the countreymen dwelled, were verye well refreshed. But the darckenes was so greate, that the houses coulde not be otherwyse deserned then by the smoke. The inhabiters that hadde neuer seene straungers before emonges theym, when they behelde the armed men commynge sodaynly vpō them were amased for feare, and brought forth what soeuer they had to saue their bodyes frō violēce. Alexāder went on his fete emonges his men, raising such as

were

were lyyng, releuing suche as he sawe afflicted wyth the cold, with his own clothes. He was sene, one while in the forwarde, another while in the middes, and some tyme in the rereward to the great trauaile of his body. At length they came to places better manured, where he refreshed his army with plenty of victuals, and ther remained in campe til suche time as al that were lefte behinde, came vnto their fellowes. Then he wente forwardes with his army to the mount Caucasus, whych deuideth all Asia into two partes. For on the one syde it stretcheth towardes the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side, to the Caspian sea, to the riuer of Araxes, and the desertes of Scythia. To thys mounte Caucasus, there ioyneth another mountaine, called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, whiche riseth from Capadocia & passyng by Cilicia, closeth with the mountaines of Armeny. Out of these mountaines ioynynge thus together as it were in one continuall rydge, all the ryuers of Asia do descende. Some of them runninge into the red sea, some into the Caspian, and Hirranian sea, & other into the Sea of Ponte. In. xvii. dayes Alexander wyth his army passed the mounte Caucasus, wher in a rocke that is .x. furlõges in compasse, and foure in heighte, the antiquytye fayned that Prometheus laye bound. At the fote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a citie, wherein he placed. vii. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and suche other besides whose seruyce he woulde not vse eny more in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Besus that was put in feare wyth Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrye, and accordinge to the custome of those nacions, consulted wyth his frendes and hys capitaynes, for the maynte-

Caucasus.

Taurus.

Prometheus.

Alexandria.

naūnce of the warres beyng at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, despisynge the rashnes of their enemies, and their smale nūbre. But chiefely Bessus was moste arrogant in hys wordes, who puffed vp with pride by reason of the kingdome he had newely gotten by treason, and not maister of his wittes, beganne to declare: howe that Darius by his foly hadde encreased his enemies fame, who woulde nedes fyghte wyth them in the streightes of Cilicia, when by retiryng backe he might haue drawen them (before they had bene ware) into desert places, and there haue put riuers and mountaynes betwene his enemies and him, and emonges the same so enclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse make eny resistaūce. Wherfore (he sated) he was become of opinion to retire back emonges the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Orus should be as a walle betwixt him and his enemies, tyll suche time as he myght assemble a strong power of the nacions thereaboute: knowynge bery well that the Chorasmyons, the Dahans, and Sacans, the Indiās, and Scythians inhabityng beyonde the riuer of Tanais, woulde come to his assistaunce, of whome there was none so little, that eny Macedon wyth the toppe of hys heade, coulde reache to hys shouldiers. They all in their dronckennes assented to hym, affirmynge that onelye to be the wyselt waye. Whereupon Bessus caused the wyne to be caried aboute plentifully to conquere Alexander vpon drinke. There was at that feaste one Cobares a Median, whiche in the Arte Magick, (if it be an Arte, and not rather a dysceyte of some vayne manne) was more notable by his profession then by hys knoweledge, but otherwyse a moderate

Bessus. wordes.

and

and an honest man. He makyng a preamble before hys tale: sayd. He was not ignorant how much more better it were to be obedient to others counsell, then to be a coũsel geuer. For such as be folowers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then ỹ rest, but suche as be authours & persuaders of eny matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therwyth deliuered the cup he had in his hande, and proceded thus: The nature of man in this respect maye be called peruers and euil, because euery one can se better in other mens matters, thẽ in their own. Their counsels must nedes be alwaies ful of perturbacion, whiche take their owne aduise. For feare is impedimente to some, desire vnto other, and to many the self loue of the thing that they haue deuised. I wil not speake of pride nor impute it vnto eny man. Ye haue sene experience how euerye one doth exteame that thynge onely to be best, whyche he him selfe hath inuented. The Diademe of a kynge that you were vppon youre heade is a greate burden, whiche if it be borne moderatly, the weyght thereof wyl oppresse the bearer: It is not furye can auayle in thys case but wyse and prudent counsayle. When he hadde spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a prouerbe cõmonly vsed emonges the Bactrians, whyche is that fearefull dogge dothe barcke more then byte, and that the deapest ryuers dothe runne wyth least noyse. Whych thynges I haue rehearsed, because suche prudence maye appeare, as remayned emonges the Barbarous. As he talked after thys maner suche as heard hym wondred to what ende his tale would come to. Then he beganne to shewe hys aduyse, whyche was more profitable to Bessus, then gratefull. Alexanders

Cobarus woordes. preamble.

Moste men gyue best iudgyng of other diuine counsels.

The fearefull dogge, doth barke more then byte, & the deepest riuers doth least noise.

Those that meane plainlie, speake not so muche to please, as to profit.

celeritie (quod he) is suche, that he is come in maner to to the entrey of your courte. He can remoue his armye before you can remoue thys table. You saye that you wyl draw your assistaunce from the ryuer of Tanais, and that you wyl put riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I would know if he be not able to folowe, where-soeuer you shal flee. If the way be indifferent, it must nedes be moste easye and assured to the victorer. And thoughe you thinke feare wil make much spede, yet hope is more swifter. It were therfore me thinkes expedient to procure the fauoure of him that is the mightiest, and yelde your selfe vnto the stroger. Howe soeuer he shal accepte it, youre fortune is more lyke to be better that way, then to remayne styll an enemy. Consider that you possesse another mans kyngdome, and therfore ye may the better depart therewithall. For ye cannot be a iust kyng till you receiue the kingdome of hym that is able to gyue it, and take it away. This is a kayethfull counsel, wherefore it is not necessary to delaye the execution thereof. The horse ȳ is of noble courage wilbe gouerned with the shadowe of a rodde. But the dull beaste is not pricked forwarde with the spores. Bessus that was fierse of nature and well set forwardes wyth drinking, became in such a furye wyth his wordes, that he could scarsely be holden by his frendes, from the slaynge of Cobares, for he pulled out his swoorde to haue done the dede, and departed out of the feaste in a great rage. But Cobares in thys stur escaped away, & came vnto Alexander. Bessus had. viii. M Bactrias armed attending vpō him. Which so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperatenes of the ayre in those parties, the Macedons woulde rather haue gone into

Inde

Inde then into Bactria, were verye obediente at hys commaundement. But when they vnderstode that Alexander was comminge towardes theym, euery one shroncke awaye, and forsoke Bessus. Then he wyth a bande of hys familie whyche were yet fayethfull vnto him, passed the riuer of Orus burning such boates as caried hym ouer, because that the same shuld not serue his enemie in folowynge hym, and assembled a newe power emonges the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath bene saide before, passed the mounte Caucasus but for lacke of corne his armye was brought in maner to the extremitie of honger. In steade of oyle they were faine to noint them selues with a iuse which they wringe out of Sesema, but euerye measure thereof called Amphora, was sold for .cxl. deneres, euerye lyke measure of honie for .cccc. and of wyne for .ccc. and yet of ỹ same was verye little to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine vessels called Sirye, whiche the inhabitauntes vse to hide so priuely that they can not be sõud except they be digged for within the earth. The countrey men bury their corne after that maner for wante wherof the souldiours were faine to liue wyth herbes, and suche fishe as thei caughte in the riuers. But that kinde of fode wanting also, they were enforced to slea their cariage beastes, and lyued wyth the flesh of theim tyll they came into Bactrya. The nature of the soyle of whiche countrey is diuers and of sundrye kyndes. Some place is plentifull of woode and vynes, and aboundaunte of pleasaunte fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of sprynges. Those parties whyche be moste temperate are sowed wyth corne, aud

Orus.

The discription of Bactria.

the rest be reserued for fedinge of beastes. But ỹ greater part of that countrey is couered ouer with baraine sãdes, & withered vp for want of moisture, nourishing neither man, nor bringynge forth fruite. But with certaine windes that come from the sea of Ponte, the sãd in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, whyche seme a farre of like great hilles, wherby the accustomed wayes be so damned, that no signe of them can appere. Therfore such as do passe those plaines, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they do which saile the seas, by the course of them directinge their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes, wherfore in the day time the countrey is wild and vnpassable, when they can nether find eny tract nor way to go in, nor marke or signe whereby to passe, ỹ starres beyng hidden by the mist. If the same wind chaunce to come duryng the time that mẽ be passing, it ouerwhelmeth theym with sande. Where the coũtrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men & horse. So that the Bactrians may make .xxx. M. horsemen. Bactria whiche is the heade citie of that region, standeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanisus. the riuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, wherof both the citie and the countrey take their names.

Parapanisus.
Bactras.

Alexander liynge there in campe, receiued aduertisemente out of Greace, howe the Lacedemonians, & the whole coũtrey of Peliponese had rebelled against him. For they had not iuste the battaile at suche tyme as the messengers were dispatched that broughte the newes of their reuoulte. In the necke of thys euyll tidinges, there came another present terroure: whyche was that the Scythians inhabitynge beyonde the riuer of Tanays were commyng to ayde Bessus. And at the same time

tyme tydinges came to him of the battayle that Ce- Caranus.
ranus and Erigius had foughte wyth the Arians, Erigius
where Satybarzanes that was newly reuolted being
chiefe of the countrey, seinge the battayle to remayne
equall on both sides, ridde into ẏ foze fronte, & plucked
of his helmet, forbiddyng eny of his side eyther to cast
darte, oz strike stroke, and there made a chalenge to
fyght hande to hande, if eny man durste come forthe
and proue his strength. Erigius capitayne to the Ma-
cedons was a man striken in yeares, but yet not infe-
riour to eny young man, either in stowtnes of stomake
oz strength of bodye, who could not beare the proud ar-
rogancy of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwardes, and
plucking of his helmet likewise, shewed his hoare heere
The daye is come (quod he) that I wyl shewe either by
the victorye, oz by my honest death, what kynde of men Here doeth no-
Alexander hath to hys frendes and his souldiours, & table mencion
without moze wordes made towardes his enemye. It m' onlie heard.
toulde not be iudged but that bothe armies had stayed
their handes by appoyntmẽt. Foz they gaue backe im-
mediatly on both sides, to let thẽ haue fre scope, ech par
ty standing in expectaciõ what should become of ẏ cha-
lengers, foz thei could not but thinke them selues par-
takers of their aduẽture. Satibarzanes fyrst charged
his staffe, whyche Erigius auoyded by bendynge hys
heade aside, but he in the middes of his race, strake the
other wyth hys speare through the throte, so ẏ it came
forth agayne at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that Satibar-
stroke fell from hys horse, but yet made resistaunce, zanes slaine
tyll suche tyme as Erigius plucked the speare out of
the wounde, and thruste it agayne into his mouth, who
to ridde him selfe out of payne, furthered hys enemies

stroke

stroke. Then the Arians seyng their capitayne slayne, whom they hadde folowed rather of necessitie then of their owne free wylles, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites, and yelded them selues to Erigius. Alexander reioysed muche of the good successe of this matter, doubtynge greatelye the Lacedemonians: but he bare out their rebelion stoutelye, saiynge: that they durste neuer disclose their meanynge, tyll they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauyng remoued his campe, and goyng forwardes in the pursuite of Bessus, Erigius mette him, presentyng the spoyle of his enemye, as a memorye of his victorye. Therupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabasus, where wyth a garison he lefte his cariage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entred into the desertes of ỹ Susitanes. cõueiyng his army by night. In the want of water (that hath bene declared before) desperation moued them to thirst before thei had desire to drinke. For by the space of .iiii.c. furlonges, they foũd no water at all. The vapoure of the sunne being in the somer season did so burne the sande, that when it begã to waxe hotte, it starched all thynges as it hadde bene wyth a continuall fyre. And then the lyght somewhat obscured by a myste that rose oute of the earth by the immoderate heate, caused the playnes to haue appearaũce of a maine sea. Their iournei in the night semed tollerable, because their bodyes were somewhat refreshed wyth the dewe and the colde of the morning. But when the daye came, and the heate rose, then the drought dryng vp al the naturall humours bothe their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hartes fayled, and their bodies faynted, beyng

The Susitans.

Parched

yng in case that they could neither stand styll, nor passe forwardes. A fewe that were taught by suche as knew the countrey, had gotten water whiche refreshed them somewhat, but as the heate encreased, so their desire grewe againe to drinke. Then was there no remedye but to geue emonges the souldiours all the wine & oyle that remayned in store. For drynke was so swete vnto them, that it toke away the feare of eny thirst to come. But such as had gulled in gredely the water that they gotte, became so heauye, that they were neither able to beare their armoure, nor go forwardes, so that they seamed then moste happy that hadde gotten no water at all, for suche as had taken of it inordinatelye, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stode wyth his frendes that were perswadyng of him to haue respecte to hym selfe, for that he onelye, and the greatnes of his harte should be relefe vnto this aduersitye. There came .ii. souldiers, whiche goyng before with such as had taken by the campe hadde found water, and were carryng of it in bottelles vnto their sonnes whiche were sore afflicted for wante of drincke behinde in the armye. When they sawe the kynge, one of them opened hys bottell, and fillynge a cuppe that he had, presented water to the kyng, who receiuyng it at his hande, demaūded to whom they caried that water, they said to their sonnes. Then he restored to him the cuppe agayne full as it was geuen him, and saied: I wyll not drynke alone, for so lyttle can not be deuided emonges vs all. Make you haste therefore to carye to youre Sonnes that you haue gotten wyth your trauayle. But he traueyled so longe, that before nyghte he came to the ryuer of Orus, the more parte of the armye, not able

inordinatelie

to

to folowe, for feblenes were lefte farre behinde: to the intent therfore that such as folowed after, might know where the Campe was become, he caused a fyre to be made in the toppe of an hill, and gaue order that when the vowarde had refreshed thē selues with meate and drynke, they should fil their bottels with water, and go backe wyth the same to releue their felowes. The breath of such as dronke intemperately closed vp, and they dyed immediatlye, the numbre of whom was greater then euer Alexander loste in enye battayle. But he would neither put of harneys, refreshe him selfe wyth meate or drinke, nor ease his body: but stode in the way where his army passed, not departyng till the last man was come into the campe. He watched al that nighte, and passed it ouer in great trouble of minde. And the daye that ensued brought no release of his care. For there were neither boates to passe the Ryuer wyth all, nor he coulde make enye bridge, seynge there was no woode growyng nere at hand. But at length he found out a deuise whereunto onelye necessitie did driue hym. They toke beastes skynnes & stuffed thē full of straw, wherupon they laied theim selues, and so swome ouer the water. Suche as firste recouered the further side, stode in ordre of battayle tyll the reaste were passed: by whiche meanes in sixe dayes he conueyed ouer hys whole armye. Hauyng thus passed ouer the Ryuer of Orus, his purpose was to passe forwardes in the pursuite of Bessus, till he vnderstode suche thinges as had chaūsed emōges the Susians. There was one Spitamenes, whom Bessus chiefly honored of al his frendes. But there be no benefites that can staye a manne geuen to perfidie and falsehode, which in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischefe to great for

This beyng, vono expelled yf at vere time.

Spytamenes conspyred agaynst Bessus.

perfidie and falshod.

for him that hath slayne his Prince. For the reueng of Darius was a fayre coloure to his offence, but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuied, then his doyng by paste hated. When it was knowen that Alexander had passed the Ryuer of Orus. Spitamenes did associate with him in counsaile of his enterprise Dataphernes, and Catenes, whom Bessus spectallye trusted. They agreed to the matter more readely then he woulde desire theim, and takyng to theim. viii. young men that were strong of personage, vsed thys kinde of policie. Spitamenes repayred to Bessus, and gettyng him alone, enfourmed him that he had founde oute howe Dataphernes and Catenes had conspired to deliuer him alyue into Alexanders handes, wheras (he saide) he had preuented thē, whiles they were about their purpose, hauyng taken them both, & put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinkyng him selfe much bound to him for so great a good turne, gaue him many thankes. And for the desire he had to be reuēged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring thē to him presence. He caused their handes to be bound behinde their backes, & to be brought by such as were priuye to their cōfederacie. Whē they came in Bessus presēce, he beheld thē with a fell countenaunce, & rose vp to haue striken at thē. But they left then their coūterfetyng, & streight wayes enclosynge Bessus aboute, bounde hym strugglyng in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from his head, tearyng his garment from his backe, which sometyme belonged to his prince, whom he had slayne. When he sawe him selfe in this case, he confessed that the Gods had rightfullye reuenged his treason, and perceyued by the plague they sente him, that bothe they fauoured Darius, and were frendes to Alexander, whose enemies

Dataphernes. Cathenes.

By treason was betrayed and Darius slayne.

mies euermore preferred hys victory. It is vncertayn whether the multitude would haue allisted Bessus or no, but that Spitamenes had deuised the thyng to be done by Alexanders appointment, whereby he put them in feare being yet doubtfull of mynde, and set Bessus vpon an horse, whereupon he brought hym vnto Alexander. He in the meane seasō had chosen out nyne hundred such as by reason of their age, were not mete for the warres, & gaue to euery horseman two talentes and to euery footeman, three thousand deneres. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thankes vnto the reste, because they promised to continue wyth hym tyll he hadde brought hys warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto him at a litle towne vnder of the inhabiters be called Branchidans, whyche in tymes paste by the commaundement of Xerxes when he came out of Greece, were brought from Miletum and placed there because that in his fauour they hadde violated a temple called Didyma. They had not all together forgotten their countrey customes, but hadde myxed their tongue whyche by litle and lytle were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey speache. They receyued the king wyth greate ioye, yealdynge them selues and their citye vnto hys wyll. Whereupon he called vnto hym the Milesians that serued hym in hys warres, (who bare an auncyente hatred agaynste the generacion of the Branchidans) & put it in their hādes to determine where they would saue them for the countrey sake, or els destroye them for the iniurie they had done in tymes past. But when the Milesyans coulde not agree in opinion, he sayed he woulde ordre the matter hym selfe. The next daye when the Branchidans

Branchidās

Milesians

came

came to mete him, he returned them all againe into the citye, & commaunded his fotemen to enclose the citye about, entered wyth suche as he appointed for the purpose, and by a token geuen, put all to the swerde, and spoyled the Citye as a receptable of traytours. They beyng without armoure and vnprouided, were slayne in euerye place. For neither the affinitye of their tongue, nor enye prayer or intercession coulde mitigate their enemies crueltye, whiche after the destruction of the towne, did easte downe the walles to the grounde, so that no memorye therof should remaine. That done they did not onelye cut downe the woodes wherin they vsed their sacrifice, but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes that the ground might be left barrayne as a deserte. If the same thinges had bene done agaynste the very offenders, the reusng myght haue bene thought righteous, but to lay the fault of the predecessours vpō the posteritye, it myght be thought a cruell acte, seyng there was not eny of them that hadde euer sene Myletum, or done to Xerxes eny kind of pleasure. As Alexāder remoued from thence to wardes the ryuer of Tanays. Bessus was brought before him, not only bound as a captiue, but also spoyled of all his garmentes, whō Spitamenes led in a cheine put about his necke: a pleasaunt sight to beholde as well to the barbarous as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come wyth him into Alexanders presence, he saied: I haue brought here vnto you the kyller of his owne maister, after the same maner that he him selfe gaue the example, wherin I haue both reuenged Darius that was my kyng, and you also that now haue gote the souerayntie. Let Darius open his eyes and rise from death to beholde this sight, that was vnworthy of such an ende, and worthye

Receptacle.

Bessus presented vnto Alexander.

to re-

Alexander to Bessus.

to receyue suche a comforte as this is. After that Alexander had geuē Spitamenes thankes, he turned him selfe vnto Bessus, and saied: What beastlye woodnes moued the to take thyne owne prince prisoner, and afterwardes to kill him, hauyng so well deserued of the, of which thy doynges thou hast receyued sufficient reward, by vsurpyng of the counterfeite name of a king. He had no harte to make aunswere, nor excuse his offence, sauynge that he sayed: he toke vpon him to be kynge, because he myght deliuer him possession of the countrey, whiche thing if he hadde omitted, some other he said, would haue taken in hand. Thē Alexander called for Oratres Darius brother, whom he had placed about his persone, and committed Bessus to his keapyng, to thentent he shoulde cutte of his eares and his nose, and hange him vpon a crosse, causynge hys owne men to shote him through with arowes, and so preserue his body that birdes should not touche it. Oratres promised to perfourme all the reste, sauynge the keapyng awaye of the byrdes, whiche for the desire he had to set forth Cathenes cunnyng, affirmed that none could so woll kepe them awaye as he, who did shote so assuredly, that he coulde strike the birdes flyeng in the ayre. And thoughe it was a cunnyng not so much to be marueyled at in a nacion so experte in shotyng, yet was it greatly wondred at of suche as did beholde him, & was great honoure vnto the doer. He gaue rewardes to all such as were the bryngers of Bessus, but he deferred his punishment, bicause he minded to put him to death in the same place where he slewe Darius. The Macedons in the meane season goyng a forragyng wythout ordre, were ouerthrowen by their Enemies that came runnyng downe from the next moūtaines. They toke

moe

mo then they did kille, & dryuing their prisoners be-
fore them retired againe to the mounteines. There
were of thē to the nombre of .xx. M. Which accustu-
mid to liue by theft, vsed slinges and bowes in their
fight, Whome whiles Alexāder did besiege, and in a
skirmish pressid forth with the formost, he was stre-
kē with an arrowe in the midd̄ of his legge, where
the hed sticked stil. The Macedōs that were sorow-
ful and amasid for their kinḡ hurt, caried him into
hys campe, of whose departure out of the feild hys
enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold
al thynges from the mounteine. The next day they
sent embassadours vnto Alexāder, whom he admit
ted to his presence, and vnfolding his wound, wher
by he thought to dissymule the greatnes therof, she-
wed his legge vnto thē. when they were cōmaūdid
to sit downe, they said: that hering of his hurte, thei
were as sorowful for it as his owne subiectes, whi-
che should welbe known, for if they could find out
the p̄sone, that did the deade, he should be deliverid
vnto his handes, they could not (they said) iudge thē
but sacrileḡ that would fight with gods, of whose
vertue thei supposid him to be, & therfore were deter
mined to yeld thē selues. Therupō he gaue thē assu-
raūce & receyuing againe his men that were takē pri
soners, admitted thē as his subiectes. That done he
remoued his campe and was caried in a foote litter
for the bearing wherof the horsemē & foote men cō-
tēdid together. The horsmen alledged it to be their
office, bicause, the king accustomed to fight emōges
thē. And the footemē argued for their parte, that in
asmuche as they vsed to cary the hurt souldiers, thei
thought no reason their office should be takē from

Alexander wounded in the legge with an arrowe.

The horsemen and footemen contended, who should carye the kynge.

them, chiefly whā the kyng should be caried. Alexāder therfor in so great acōtentiō of both partes thought it a difficult matter to geue sentēce, because the iudgemēt should be greuous to them ꝑ should be put frō the office, & therfore ordred that they should cary hym by course. frō thēce ꝑ fourth day he came vnto a cite called Maracāda, the walles wherof were. lxx. furlōges about, but the castle was wout eny wal, he set a guarison in the citie & then burned & destroied the coūtrey ther aboutes. Embassadours came vnto him thether frō the Scythes called Iuians, whiche had ben free since the tyme that Cyrus was emonges thē, but yet they shewed thē selues thē redy to be at his cōmaūdemēt. They were knowē to be the most rightuous people of al the barbarus natiōs, as men ꝑ neuer vsed to make warre but when they were prouoked, whose moderaciō & tēperaūce in vsig of their libertie, made the inferiours equal vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gētly, and sent Penidas a frend of his to those Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid thē to passe the riuer of Tanais wythout his appointment. who had also a secreate commissiō to vieWe the scituaciō of the coūtrey, & to visit those Scithiās ꝑ inhabited about Bosphorus. He willed hi besides to choise out a place vpon the brinke of Thanais, where as he might build a citie, to remain as a forters for ꝑ subduing of those people ꝑ he entended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebelliō of ꝑ Sogdiās who had also drawen the Bactriās to their part. There were of thē. vii. m. horsmen, whose auctorite the rest folowed, for the aduaūtig of whom Alexāder caused Spytamenes & Catenes (the betrayers of Besus) to be set for thinking by their meanes to

Maracāda.

The Scythians.

Penidas

Situation

The rebellion of the Sogdiās.

bringe

bring the coūtrey agayn to his obedience, & to subdue such as had made this sturre. But they whiche were iudged mete to stay the rebellion, & were sent for that intent, Were the chief auethours of al the reuolt. For they caused it to be noised abrode, ỹ Alexāder had sēt for the Bactrian horsemē of purpose to kill them all. Which cōmission (they sayd) being appointed to them they would not execute, because they thought it ouer foul an act to cōmit against their coūtreymē. And for that cause could as il beare thē Alexāders crueltie, as in times past Bessus treason. By this meanes When feare of death was put into theyr heades, they were easely sturred to armes, Which before were sufficientlye enclyned of their owne myndes. When Alexander was aduertisid of their doiges, he willed Craterus to beseige Cyropolis. And he him self wāne an other city of that countrey by an assault Which he gaue to it on al partes at once, and by a signe geuen caused all the children to be put to death, making the rest a pray for the souldiers. This done ỹ cite was rased to the groūd to thintent ỹ others by their ensāple might be kepte in obedience. There was a valiaūt people called Memacenans, who were determyned to abide the siege, not onlye for their honesties sake, but also for ỹ they thought it moste for their suertie. For the mitigating of whose wilfulnes the king sent to them fifty horsemen to declare his clemency to wardes suche as submitted them selues, and howe inexorable he was to suche as he wanne by force. Their answere was, that they neither doubted of the kynges promis, nor of his power, but after their answere geuē, they lodged thē without their wallis, Where as enterteyning thē with great chere til it was the deape of the night, they

Cyropolis

Memacenans

Inexorable

set vpon thē, and slewe them all. Alexander was no lesse mould with this matter, then the case required but made an assault vnto the cytie on all partes at once, whiche he found furnisshed in suche wyse, that he could not take it at the first attempt. wherfore he appointed Meleager and Perdeas to the siege therof, whiche then were besiegyng of Ciropolis, myndyng to spare the same, because it was builded by Cirus. For he had not so great admiracion of any king that had reygned in those partes as of him, & Semiramis: whose magnanimite of mynde, and fame of her actes, seamed to him to excede all the rest. But the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitaūtes, sturred vp his wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to spoyle it, which had great cause to be moued agaynst thē, & so returned agayne to Meleager & Perdicas. There was not one cytie that did more valiaūtly abyde the siege, thē the same did, for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slayn and the kinge was brought in great daunger, being strikē in the necke with a stone, so that his sight fayled him, and was fellyd to the earth so that he lost hys sence. The army lamentid, thinking he had ben dead: but he was inuincible ageinst those thynges, which put other mē moste in feare. For without tarieng he dressed his wounde, returnyng to the fyght & after anger had sturred vp the egernes he had of nature, he renuid the assault ageine more fiersely thē before. At length a great peece of the wall was ouer throwen by a myne, at the whiche he brake in, and put the whole cytie to sacke and to ruyne. He sent from thēce Menedemus with .iii. M. fotemen and viii. C. horsemen to the citie of Maracanda, whych

Spitamenes

Spytamenes had newly taken, and put out frō thēce the guarrison of the Macedōs, yet the citesens were not of this opynion, but when they sawe they coulde not wtstand him, it was of necessite for them to agree to his will. Alexāder in the meane season came to the riuer of Thanais, where he enclosed about with a wal so much grouńde as his campe did conteine, extēdyng in compasse .lx. furlonges, and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedicion that within .xvii. daies after the walles were vp, the houses also were builded. And the whole was pfourmed in a very smale seasō, through the contenciō emonges the souldiers, who shoulde perfourme his worke first, when the same was deuided into porciōs emonges them. Their prisoners (whose raunsomes Alexander paid to their takers,) were appointed to inhabite this citie. The discent of whom after so longe time ar not yet worne out: such fauour hath bene shewed to thē, in the memorye of Alexander. The kinge of Scythia whose Empire was thē beyond the riuer of Tanais, iudging that the fortyfiēg vpon the riuers syde, should be as a yocke to his neck, sent his brother Carcasys with a great power of horsemen to defeate the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons from the waters syde. That ryuer deuideth the Bactryans from the Scythiās of Europe and is the symyte which parteth Asia and Europe a sōdre. But the coūtreis that the Scithes inhabyte stretche as farre, as Tracia, & lie betwyxt the north & theast, ioynyng with Sarmacya, & possessing part of it. The countrey also that lieth beyōd the ryuer of Ister is inhabited by thē: their vttermost boūdes stretchyng to Bactria, and to the further boūdes of Asia northwardes, wheras be

Alexander buildeth a new citie vpo Tanais.

Carcasis.

Ister.

Wonderful great Woods & Wild desertes, But suche of them as bounded nere vnto Tanais & Bactria lacked not much the ciuilitie of other nacion. This being the first tyme that Alexãder had to do With these people, when he saw that thẽ he had to entre into a warre, for the Whiche he Was not prouided, his enemies rydyng vp & downe in hys syght, and he diseased of hys Woũd, specially not hauing thuse of his speach, which faylyd much by reason of hys longe abstinẽce, and the payne in his necke called hys friendes to counsell, & declared vnto thẽ: that he Was not trubled With eny fear of his enemies but With the iniquitye of the tyme the Bactirians rebelling & the Scithians prouoking hi, When neyther he Was able to stand vpon the ground, strõg ynough to ryde on horsbacke, or in case to gyue aduise or exhortacion to hys men. In consideracion therfore of the doubtful daũger he saw him self Wrapt in, he accused the gods, complaynyng that he was thẽ enforsed to lye styll as a stocke, Whose swiftnes before tyme, none Was hable to escape. The matters grue so great that hys owne men belcaued he had counterfeited his sickness for feare. And therfore he which since the ouerthrowe of Darius had left consultacion With the deuiners and prophetes, turned hym seike againe to the vanyty & suppersticiõ of mã, willing Aristander to whom he Was addicted in belicfe) that he shoulde trye out by Sacrifice what his successe should be, The custome of them which Were called Aurispices Was to consyder the intrayles of the beastes wythout the kynge, and to make report to hym of there signification In the meane season whyles they Were serchynge secreates that way, he Wylled Ephestion, Craterus, Erigius and other hys frendes to draw nere about him, elst

Alexãders wordes to his frindes

Ouerlite maketh mẽ religious.

Aurispices

by streyninge of hys voyce he myght breake oute hys
wolde agayn, and sayd thus vnto them: The daunger
I am in, hath caused the tyme to serue better for mine
enemies, then for me, necessitie I see chiefly in the wa-
res to go before reason. For it is seldome geuen to men
to choyse their owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted
vpon whose shoulders yet We stande, purposynge to
erie what courage We be of, by our behauour towar-
des the Scithians. If we leaue of with doubtful for-
tune, and meddle not wyth thē, whych of their owen
mindes haue prouoked vs, We shal at our retourne be
had in contempt of them whome we entend to visyt.
But if we shall passe the riuer of Tanais, and by the
destruction of the Scythians and sheddyng of theyr
bloud, shewe our selues inuincible euerye where. who
will then doubt but that Europe Wyll lye open and
geue obedience to vs being victorers: he is deceyued
that doth measure by eny distaunce thē boūdes of the
glorye we entend to passe. There is but one ryuer
that letteth vs nowe for bringing of our power ouer
into Europe, which if we shall bring to passe, What an
estimaciō shal it be for vs: whiles we be subduing of A
sia, to set vp the monumentes of our victories as it
were in a newe World, ioyning so sone together wyth
one victory, the thyng that nature seame to haue de-
uyded wyth so great distaunce: but if we shall stay ne-
uer so little & geue groūd, the Scythians Wil thē com
after vs, & pursue vs in ỹ taile. Be there no more but
We ỹ haue passed riuers: there be many inuenciōs yet
remaynyng emōges our selues, wherby we haue gottē
victories. But fortune of the warre doth teache polycy
to suche as be ouer comme, we haue shewed a prece-
dent of late, how We to Wynne ouer ryuers vpon bot-

Hardy wordes.

Man can not
appoynt vnto
God any thinge
that he desyreth
for all thinge
impossible vnto
god shuld be a-
poynted.

tels. Which thynge if the Scythians can not doe, the Bactrians shall teache them. It is but the power of one nacion, that nowe come against you, al the other yet stande in a stay to vnderstande of our doing. So that by eschewyng battaill we shall norysh warre, and be compellyd to receyue those blowes, which lie in vs to to geue to other. The reason of my aduise is manyfest. But whether the Macedons will suffre me to vse myne owne disposicio, I doubte, because that sithe I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horseback, nor gone on foote. If you will folowe me my frendes I am whole, I haue the strength ynough to endure these thynges. And if thende of my life be at hande, wherin can I spende it better. These wordes that he spake were vttered with a broken and weake voice, so that they could scarselie be hard of such as were next him. But when his meaning was perceiued, all that were present wente aboute to fraye him from so rashe an enterprice. But Erygius wrought chiefly in the matter, Which perceyuinge that his authoritie coulde not preuaile against the kinges obstinate minde, attepted to worcke him by relygio, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Goddes were against his determynacion, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the riuer. (He said) he had vnderstand that thinge by Aristander, who tolde hym at his cominig into the pauylion What he had perceiued in the beastes intrayles. Alexander vpon his wordes was vnderfully troubled both with anger and shame, when he sawe the secreates of the religio brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to him selfe: & therfore caused Erygius to go aside, and Aristander to bee called in vnto him.

Erigius

Obstinate & wylful minde refuseth good counsell.

whome

whome he beheld in the face, & saide: I seame to the rather a priuate man then a kinge. I commaunded the to make sacrifice, and thou haste declaryd the signyfycation therof to other and not to me. For Erigius by thy report knoweth the preuities perteyning to me. But sure I iudge that through his owne feare he deuyled an interpretacion of him selfe. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth What thou haste found in the intrayles, to thintent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken. Aristander thereupon Was amased, & loked pale not able to answere one worde for feare. But at length the same feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwardes to speake, lest the prolonging of the kinges expectacion might prouoke him to further wrath, answered: I sayde (quod he) there was in the enterprise great daunger and difficultie, but yet that your attempte shoulde not be in vaine. Ther is nothig þ I haue perceiued by my scięce trouble me so much, as the loue I beare to you wardes, for I both consider your infirmytie, & What amoment consisteth in your owne persone, fearing you should not be able to endure the thinges, that fortune is disposed to geue vnto you, whē Alexāder hard hi speake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felycytie, to whom fortune hadde graunted glory in greater thinges, & therupō dismissed him Afterwardes as the king was debating with such as he consultyd With before, by What meanes he shulde passe the riuer. Aristander came emonges them, affirming that he had founde the intrailes contrary to þ he did before, with as likly signes of good successe as eny þ euer he saw, shewing them as greate causes to reioise, as he did before to feare. But immediatly here upon

vpon Alexãder receiued newes ỹ much appaired thẽ cõtinuall felicitie he was wont to haue, in al his pro-cedinges. Menedemus beig sent (as it hath bene saide before) to beliege Spitamenes, the auctour of ỹ Bactrians rebelliõ. when he vnderstode of hys enemies cõming both in auoiding to be enclosed within walles, & trusting besides to take some aduaũtage of the Macedõs, laid an imbushemente to entrappe them. There was a wood through the which they shoulde passe very apt for the purpose, where he laid the Dahans, whose custome was to cary two armed menne vpon one horse, from whẽce they vsed to leape downe by course. And by reason the swyftnes of the footemen was litle inferiour vnto the horsmen, they troubled greatly the ordre of the horsmans fight. Spitamenes gaue ordre to them, that when their enemies shuld enter in to the wood, they should enuiron them about on all sides, whiche whẽ they perfourmed according to their appointmente. Menedemus seinge him selfe enclosed on al partes, & not equall in nombre vnto his enemies, resisted a great while, crỹg out to the souldiers, that there remayned no hope to thẽ being intrapt after that maner, but by makig slaughter vpon their enemies, receiue the comfort of an honest death. Menedemus rid vpon a strong horse charging ofttimes vpon his enemyes, whereby he brake their ordre, and made great slaughter, till suche tyme that he being laid at on all partes, receyued manye
Hilpydes. woundes, and faynted for want of bloud. Thẽ he exhorted Hilpides that was one of hys frẽdes to leape vpõ his horse, and escape away, and with that worde he swouded & fel to the groũd frõ his horse. Hilpides might haue got away, but after he had lost his frende

deter-

determined there to die, takig no other care but howe to spend his life, with losse of his enemies. Wherfore he put his spores to the horse, & ran in amonges thē, where he fought notably, & at length was slaine. Whē the rest saw thys ouerthrow, & losse of their captayne, they recouered an hyl, where Spitamēes did besiege thē thikig to subdue thē for Wāt of vitail. There were slaine in ỹ battail two.m. fotemē, & .iii. hūdred horsemē. Which misaduēture Alexander with great policie kept secret, commaunding them that parted from the field, vnder payne of death not publysh thys matter abrode. But When he could not beare out eny lenger a countenaunce contrary to his harte, he Went alone vnto his pauilion Which he had set of purpose vpon the riuers side. There he waked all the nyght deuisig with hi self, What Was best to doe. And diuers tymes he lifted vp his tent to beholde the fires in his enemies campe, therby to coniecture their nombre. Whē the day appeared he put on a cotselet & came forth emongs the souldiers, beig the first time they had sene hi since he receiued his hurt. They bare suche a veneracīō vnto their kinge ỹ with his presence only, they put away the remēbraunce of the feare which caused them before to shrinke, & reioysed so hartely, ỹ When they saluted hym the teares distilled from their eyes, and earnestlye required the fyghte, Whiche before, they had refused. He toke order there emonges them that the horsemen, & such as were of the square battaill of footemen shoulde be caried ouer in boates, & ỹ the light armed should swimme vpon bottels. Neither the matter required eny more to be spoken, nor the kig could not say much more by reasō of his infirmitie. For the souldiers went about the matter with

cshy

suche good will & cherefulnes of minde, that within thre dayes they had finyshed .xii. M. boates. when all thinges were prepared in redines for their passage, there came .xx. embassadours of the Scythiãs riding by the cãpe, which required that it might be declared vnto the king that they had matter in commyssion to declare vnto hym. whẽ they were receiued into his pauilion, and commaũded to sit downe, they fixed their loke continually vpon the kinges countenance, where by it was thought, that waying the greatnes of his courage by his personage that they sawe presente, it appeared to them but small in respecte of the fame thei heard of hym. The wittes of the Scythians be not rude and without knowledge as other barbarous people be. For it is sayd that many of thẽ atteyne to such learning as is possible for a nacion being alwayes in exercise of the warres. whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander be left in memorie, which though they differ from the maner of vs that haue happenyd in more cyuil times, and frampd our selues to a more humanite. Yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speach be not alowed. And therfore I shal declare vncorruptlye the sayinges whi che the eldest of those Embassadours dyd speake after this maner. If the Goddes had geuen the a bodye according to the vnsaciable desire of thy mind, the world should not be able to receiue the, but shuldest touche ỹ Orient with one hãd, & the occidẽt wt the other: Which thing ones obteined, thy care shuld be to become equal to the goddes. Thus thou doest couet the thinge, thou art not able to compasse. From Europe thou goest into Asia, and from Asya passest into Europe.

The oracion of the Scythiãs vnto Alexander.

It must come to passe that if thou ouercome al man kynde, thou must kepe warre with woodes and snowes, with riuers, and wilde beastes. what art thou ignorant that trees do growe till they be great, and thé be plucked vp from the rote in a moment. He is a foole that doth couet the frute, and considereth not the height of the tree wheron it groweth. Take hede lest whiles thou doest labour to attaine vnto ỳ toppe, thou fallest with the boowes which ỳ doest embrace. The Lion hath bene some tyme the foode of smalle byrdes, and the rustc doth cõsume the Irõ. There is nothyng so sure, that is not in daunger of his inferiour. What haue we to do with ỳ, we neuer touched thy countrey. Is it not lawfull for vs that lyue in the wast woodes, to be ignorant what thou arte, and from whence thou cummest, we can neyther be subiect to eny mã, nor desire to rule ouer eny creature. And bycause ye shal not be ignorant of the state of our naciõ, we haue certayne giftes in proper vnto vs, the yocke of Orẽ, the plough, the speare, the bowe, & the bowle: which be the thinges that we vse both with our frendis, and against our enemies. we do giue vnto frẽdis of the frutes gotté wyth our labour. with the bowle we sacrefice wyne vnto the goddes. with the bowe we strike our enemies afarre of, and wyth the speare nere at hand. After ỳ sort we in tymes past ouercame the king of Scythia, and afterwardes the king of Perce and Media, makig the way opẽ to vs into Egipt. But thou which doest glorifie, that art come to be a persecutour of theues, art a robber of all nacions, that thou cũmest emonges. Thou haste taken Lydia, possessyd Siria, enioyed Perce, and haste the Bactrians vnder thy power.

A tree growe till ỳe be great, & then we rut down euen in a moment they are fooles ỳat vewit ỳe frute & vnderstãdeth not ỳe byrget of ỳe tree ỳat it growoth on. ỳe rumer fulleth vñ ỳe bowed vñ ỳe cattle in ỳe hunted. some tyme ỳe lyon is foode for smale birdes. And a mise doth consume yron.

Thou

Thou doſt viſite the indies, & nowe ſtreacheſt furth thy raueno wes handes vnto our cattel. why doeſt þ couet that riches, that cauſeth the to be pooze? Thou art the firſt of al mẽ which with haboundaunce haſt prepared thy ſelfe honger and that wyth the moze thou haſt, the moze gredely thou doiſt couet the thinges thou haſt not. Doiſt thou not remẽbze howe long thou haſte ſticked aboute Bactria: And whiles thou goeſt about to ſubdue them, howe the Sogdians begyn to rebell. Thus warre dothe growe vnto the of thy victozie. Foz be thou neuer ſo great, and puyſant aboue eny other, yet ther be none that cã endure to be gouerned by ſtraungers. Paſſe nowe Tanais, thou ſhalt perceyue what bzeadth it beareth, and yet thou ſhalt neuer ouertake the Scithians whoſe pouertie is ſwifter, then thy army, carying the ſpoile of ſo many nacions. Foz when thou ſhalt thinke vs to be farre of, thou ſhalt ſee vs within thy Campe, wyth like ſwiftnes, We folow, and flee awaye. I heare that our deſertis be ſkozned by the Greake pzouerbes, we couet rather thoſe deſertys and places vnhabited, then cieties and plentifull countreys. Therfoze hold tiyou thy foztune faſt, foz ſhe is ſlipper and cannot be kept agaynſt hir Will. Folow thou the counſayl that is good, ſpecially whiles the time doth ſerue. Put a bzidle to thy felicitye, and thou ſhalte gouerne it the better. we ſaye that foztune is without feete, & that ſhe hath only hands, & winges but when ſhe putteth furthe her hande, ſhe will not ſuffre hir winges to be touched. If thou be a god, then geue benefites vnto moztal mẽ, and take not away the commodities they they haue alredy. If thou be a man conſider alwaye thine owne eſtate. It is folyſh to remẽbze thoſe thinges

NB Alexander vrrit one nature in other vnoles from hym: ſo tyrit & tonder ned muſt call obeyr tyrit hy cadrmus.

Fortune vd ſhipz, and ſome ſhd thy auaile, & tyme taryth nobodye.

ges, whiche cause the to forget thy selfe. Such as by warre thou makest, thy enemies: by peace thou maist make them thy verie frendes. The most firme frēdship is emōgest them that be equall, and they seme equal, which haue not yet made eny trial of the force. Take hede thou take them not for thy frendes, whom thou doest subdue and bring to subiectiō. Ther is no frendshyp betwene the Lord & the slaue, and in peace the law of armes is obseruyd. Thynke not that the Scythians do confirme their frendshippe with enye othe. For they thinke they swear in kepinge of theyr fayth. The custome of the Greakes is to iustify their doynges by callinge their Goddes to Witnesse. But we acknowledge Religiō to consist in the faith it selfe. They which do not their due reuerēce to mē, deceiue the Gods. Thinke not those frendys to be necessary vnto the, of whose good wil thou shalt nede to doubt Thou maist vse vs as kepers both of Europe and Asia. For We should ioyne With Bactria, but that Tanais dothe deuide vs, and beyound Tanais our dominion stretcheth so farre as Tracia, & the same is Tracia cōfineth w̄ Macedon. Consider therfore whether it be necessary for the or no, to haue vs as frēdes or foes to bothe thine empires. These Were the Scythians Wordes, to Whome the king made aunswere: ꝑ he would both vse his owne fortune, and their cōsayle Which aduised him Well. He Would folow his fortune (he said) because he had great cōfidēce in it, & other mens counsaile, because he Would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a sodaine. Ther vpon the dismissed the Embassadours & enbarked his armie in the boates he had prepard. In the fore partes of the boates he set such as had targettes, Willig thē to knele vpon

As there is no frendshyp betwene the lorde and the slaue, euen so is there no frendshyp betwene them.

Then that vse good counsell, seldome do any thinge rashly or vpon the sodain.

Alexander passed the riuer of Thanais against the Scithians.

their

their knees for their more saufegarde agaynste the shote of arrowes. And they were placed behind thē that had the charge of the Engines, Who before, and on both sides were enclosyd with armed men. The rest which stode beyonde the engynes beying armed them selues, defended with targettes such as rowed. The same ordre was also obseruid in those boates ꝑ caried ouer the horsmen. The more part drue their horses after thē by the reynes swimming at the boates tailes, and such as were caried vpō trusses filled with straw, were defendid by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexāder with such men as he had chosen to be about his persone, first lanched from the land, & directed his course towardes the further side. The Scythians came agaynst thē with their horsemē in ordre of battaill, standyng vpon the brincke of the further shore to let their landing: whose shew beig a terrour to ꝑ Macedōs, they had also an other cause of feare in their passing ouer for the boatemaisters were not able to keape their course agaynst the force of the streame. And the souldiers swaying to and fro, for the doubte they had to fall in the water, troubled the maryners in doing of their office. By reason wherof the Macedons could not haue scoope to caste their dartes with eny force, taking more care how to place them selues out of perill, then for to anoye their enemies. Their engyns stode thē in great steade, whych seldome did shote in vaine against their enemies that stode thicke before them. proffering to resiste thir lāding. when the Scithians sawe them nere the shore, they did shote an infinite nombre of arrowes into the boates, so ꝑ there was not ī maner eny target ꝑ had not many heades

sticking

sticking in it. At length the boates arriued at the land, thē the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauinge more scope & sure footing, threwe their dartes more certainly & wt greater force: Wherby perceiuing their enemies to shrinke, & reane backe their horses, they then leaped cherefully vnto the land, one exhorting & encourging an other, & freshe pursued them in whom they sawe falle oute of arraye. By that tyme Alexanders horsmen which had assembled them selues in tropes, brake vpō their ennemies, & put thē to great dysorder. In the meane season the reste beinge defendyd by them that were fighting, landyd & prepared them selues to the battayl. Nor Alexander letted not with stowtnes of courage to supplye the impotency of his bodye. His voyce coulde not be hard whē he spake and exhorted his men (the scarre of his wound not yet closed) but al men might se him fighting. wherfore euery one vsed the office of a captaine in giuing exhortacion vnto his fellowes, and ran vpon their ennemies without respecte of their owne liues. Then the Scythians could not endure eny lenger the countenance, the force, nor the crye of their enemyes, but beinge all on horsback flede awaye vpon the spoores. whome the king pursued .iiii. score furlonges, notwithstanding that with greate payne he endurȳd his infirmite. when his hart fainted he cōmaunded hys men that they should folow still in the chace so longe as the daye lasted, and not hauing strength to sustcine eny further trauaile returned into his camp to rest him self. The Macedons in their pursuite passed thē boundes of Bacchus. In monumente of whome theyr were greate stones set vp by equall distaunce, and high trees, whose stockes were

couered ouer with Iuye. But no boundes could be a stay to the Macedons, beinge caryed forwardes in there fury, for it was midde nighte before they returned againe to their campe, who hauing killed many, and taken great nombre of prisoners, dyd dryue before them .M. viii. c. horses. There were slayne of the Macedõs .lx. horsmen, of the footemẽ to the poynt of one hundred, & a thousand of them were hurte. This enterprise with the fame of the victorye fallinge in so good a seasõ, kept the more part of Asia in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they beleuyd that the Scythians were inuincible: who being veinquished, they iudged no nacions hable to withstand the powre of the Macedõs. The Sacans the fore after this victory, sent ther Embassadours vnto Alexãder offring them selues to come vnder his obedience. To the doing wherof they were not so greatlie moued with feare of his force, as they wer with report of the clemẽcy he vsed towardes the Scythiãs after he had discouered thẽ. For he deliuered home al their prisoners, without raunsome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with these fierce nacions to shew his powre, & his vertue, & not for eny malice nor to shewe his wrath vpon thẽ. That was ỳ cause that he so gently receiued the Embassadours of the Sacans: causing Excipinus to accõpany them who being a beutyfull young mã in the first flowre of his youth, was in that respect in great fauoure, and familiaritie with Alexãder. In personage he was like Ephestiõ, but inferior to hĩ in pleasãtnes of speach. After this Alexander giuinge order to Craterus to folow hym by small iorneis with the greater parte of his armye he him selfe came to the citie of Maracanda

Inuincible

Sacans.

Excipinus

landa from whence Spitamenes that harde of his cõmyng, was flede into Bactria. The kinge therfore making great iourneyes foure dayes continually, came into the place, where as vnder the conducte of Menedemus he had lost two.m. fotemen & .iii.C. horsemen. whose bones he caused to be gathered togithers, celebrating their their funeralles after his contrey maner. By that tyme Craterus with the phalãx was come vnto the kinge, and to thintent he myghte punishe with the sword all suche as had rebellyd, he deuided his powre into diuerse partes, commaundig them to burne in euery place where they wente & to kyll al the children. The coũtrey of the Sogdians for the more parte is wast, by reason of the great deserteg that stretch ouerthuart the countrey. The riuer called Polytimetum passed in maner throughe the lengthe of yt, which ronneth a space violently in a narow channel, and then is receyued into an hole of the earth, frõ whence it goeth vnderneth the ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse of the water that maye bee hard. And yet on al groũde vnder the which so great a riuer doth rounne, there doo not appeare eny moisture, put forth. Of the captiues that were taken emõges the Sogdians, there were .xxx. of the most noble brought vnto Alexander. whiche vnderstandinge by an interpreter, that by the kinges commaundemente they shoulde be put to execucion. They began as men in myrth to synge and daunce, and by a certayne lassyuious mocion of their bodyes, expressed a greate ioyfullnes of the mynde Alexander meruelynge that they toke theyr death wyth suche stowtnes and magnanymitye of hearte, called theim vnto hym, enquerynge why they shewed so greate a gladnes,

lassyuious

nes,when they had death before ther face.Thei aun swered that if they had bene put to death by eny,sauinge by such one as he was,that they should haue take their death sorowfully.But now seig they shuld be restoryd to their predecessours by a king that was a conquerour of al nations:they reioysed in their honest death,as the thing that all men shulde wishe & desyre.The king then meruayling at there magnanimitye:Enquere of you(q he)if you can be contēt to liue,& become frendes to him,by whose benifite you shal receiue your life.They saide that as they neuer were his enemies,but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres,euen so if he woulde make an experiment of them rather by a benefite,then an iniurie,they would labour not to be ouercome in good will,nor in doyng the thing that perteyned to theyr dutie.They were axed what pledge they would lay of their promise.They said their liues they had receyued,should be their pledge redy to be yelded agayne, whē it were requyred.Therin they brake no promise, for suche of theim as were returned home into their rowtrey kept the people in good obediēce,& foure of them that were appointed to be of the kiges guard, gaue place to none of the Macedōs in loue or affection towardes their prince.when he had ordred all thinges emonges the Sogdians,he left Peucolaus
Peucolaus there wyth.iii.M.men of warre,and remoued into Bactria.Frō whēce he commaūded Bessus to be caried to Echatan,there to suffre death for the killinge of Darius.About thesame tyme Ptolonieus & Menidas brouht.iii.M.footemē & a thousand horsemē of mercenary souldiers,& one Aleander came to him out of Lycia wyth.iii.M.foote mē and.v.C.horsemē

Asclepeodorus

Asclepeodorus had leuied the like nõbre out of Siria, Antipater sent. viii. M. Greakes emonges whome there were. v. C. horsemen. When he had thus encreased his army with the supply of his new power, he wẽt about in euery place to quiet those sturres ẏ bene rapsed vp by the rebellion. And hauinge slayne them that were the auchours and beginners therof, the fourth day came to the ryuer of Orus, which beinge a water vnholsome to be dronke, because it is euer troubled & ful of mudde, the Macedons fel to diggyng of welles. And whẽ by diggyng deape they could find no water, a spring sodenly appeared in the kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fayned it to come by miracle. Therewith the king was pleased, and contentid men shuld beleaue that the same was sente bi the gift of god. When he passed the riuers of Ochus and Orus, they came vnto a citie called Marginia, nere vnto the which he chose out places for the buildyng of syre townes: wherof he planted two towardes the south, and foure towardes the east: euery one distant a smalle space frõ an other, to thintent, ẏ their mutuall assistaũce in tyme of nede should, not be farre to seke. They were al scituate vpon high hilles, as bridels to kepe vnder those wilde nacions. But now they haue forgotten their original, and be subiect to those, they were wont to rule. The king hauyng subdued all the rest, one rocke only remaynid whiche Arimazes a Sogdian had taken With. xxx. M. armed men, & furnyshed ẏ same of victuals for two yeares. The same rock was. xxx. furlõges in height and. Cl. about, being in all partes steape and broken, hauing one streight pathe only to passe vp vnto it. In the midde way to to the toppe it had a caue which was narowe & darcke

Marginia

a rock kepe against Alexander bi Arimazes.

darck in the enterey, but by littell and littell it waxed wyder, & had large lodginges within for a great multitude, and was besides so full of springes, that when they met together they ran downe the rock like a great ryuer. Alexander beholding the strength of this place, & the difficultie to wynne it: Determined to departe from thence. But there entryd sodenly into his hart a desire to wery nature, and worcke againste her power. yet before that he would attempt the fortune of eny siege, he sente Cophes the sonne of Artabasus, to persuade them to geue it ouer. Arimazes vpon truste of the stength of the place aunswered in al thinges arrogauntly, but specially in that he axed whether Alexander could flye. which wordes reported to the king, did put in such a furye, that streighte wayes he called for suche as he vsed to consult with all, declaryng the pride and presumption of Arymazes, and after what maner he had skornened him. But shortlye (he sayde) he would deuise suche a polycye, that he would make hym thynke the Macedons had wynges. He required them therfore that out of the whole army, they would chose out and bringe to hym thre hundred of the most lightest young men, whiche hadde bene accustomed to driue beastes emonges the rockes & streighte pathes of the mountaynes. whereupon they brought such to the king, as both for lyghtnes of body, and hardines of hart were most mete for such a purpose. Unto whō he sayde: my fellowes that be of myne owne age, with yon I haue wonne Cyties that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaynes couered continuallye with snowe. with you I haue gone through the streightes of Cylicia, and haue without werynes sustayned the violence of the rould. wher-

Cophes.

The exhortacion that alexander made to them whō he had appointed to clyme the rocke.

by

by I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rocke whiche you see haue but one entre, which our enemies do obserue, the rest they neglect. They keape no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently serch, you shall fynde some way to bring you to the toppe. Nature hath made nothing so highe, but that it maye be attayned to, by the industry of man. In putting thinges in prouke, wherof other haue dispayred, we haue gotten Asia into oure possession. Deuise you the meanes to get vp into the toppe, whiche when you haue taken, you shall geue a token to me by settynge vp of some white clothe. you shall se me then come forwardes with my power, and turne the enemyes from you towardes me. He shall haue ten talentes for a reward that doth recouer the toppe first, and he that getteth vp nexte, shall haue one lesse and the like order shalbe obserued, with ten of the first. I am assured ỹ you regarde not so much my liberalitie as my fauour. whē they had heard the kīg speake after that māer, they imagined the thing wonne, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes and yron hokes, which they might fasten to the rockes, and so clyme vp. The kinge broughte them aboute the rock, where as it seamed least steape & most plaine to mount vpon, and in the seconde watche willed them to passe forwardes wyth good speade. They being furnyshed with two dayes victuals, & armed only with swordes and speares, at the first went forwardes without eny great difficultie. But when they came to the steapnes of the rock, some tokeholde of the broken ragges to lift vp them selues, and some fastenynge their hokes on ỹ rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compellyd to reste and staye dyuers tymes,

and so consumid the daye in trauaill & in feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rock semynge to growe more & more. Whē they failed either of their holde, or of their footing, it was a myserable thing to see how they fell downe hedlonge, shewinge to the other misfortune, an ensample what was a likely to become of them. Notwithstandinge at length throughe al these difficulties they gotte vp vnto the top, where they al weried with the trauaill of their continuall laboure, & some with the hurtes & maines they had receiued, slept there al that night, emonges the wylde and rough rockes, vnmyndfull of the perill they were in. When it was daye they wakenyd oute of their deape sleape, and beholding the valeis vnderneath thē, were ignorant in what parte of the rocke so great a multude of their enemyes shuld lie. But at lēgth whē they perceiued by the smoke in what place they were, they vpon the pointes of two speares set vp the signe that was appointed them, and founde than in their comming vp they had lost their nombre two and thyrtie. The king being carefull not so muche for the desire he had to winne the rocke, as for to saue those whome he had sent to so manifest a daunger, stode all day beholding the toppe of the mouuteyne. And when darckenes of the night toke away the prospecte of the eyes, he departyd to refresh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceyued the white cloth set vp in the toppe of the rocke, but the vatyete of the ayer, and the sonne begynnyng to appeare, and yet hydden, caused hym to doubte a whyle whether his sight had fayled hym or no. But when it was full and open day, it appeared manifestlye, and all doubte was remouyd. Then he called Cophes, by whome he had at-

temptyd theyr myndes before, wyllynge hym ones a-
gaine to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so be
that in truste of theyr strength, they would not submit
them selues, that then he should shewe to them the mē
that had taken the rocke ouer their heades. when Co-
phes came thether, he beganne to persuade Arimazes
to geue vp his strength, thereby to wynne the kinges
fauoure, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the sie-
ge of a rocke, hauig so many weighty affaires in hād:
But he founde him more obstinat and proude then he
dyd before, and willed Cophes to departe and moue
him no more in the matter. Then he toke Arimazes by
the hand, and required him to go with him out of the
caue. when they were come where as they might loke
about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top
of the cragge, and skorning them, hys pryde: axed of Cragge
him whether Alexāders souldiers had gotten wyng,
or no: by that tyme the trompettes were blowen in
the Macedōs campe, & they myght heare the alarome
that was made in the armye. which matter as many
vayne & trifling thynges are wonte in the warres to
growe to greate effect, so that was the cause why they
yelded them selues. For feare so troubled them, that
they could not consider the smalle nombre that were
ouer their heades, but called Cophes aggaine in great
hast, who was departed away, and sent with hym vn-
to Alexāder .xxx. of the chiefe mē, authorised to yealde
vp the rocke, with composition for to depart in saue-
guarde. But Alexāder not withstāding that he doub-
ted, lest his enemyes dyscouetinge the fewnes of hys
men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the fe-
licyte of his owne fortune, & offendyd wyth the pride
of Arimazes, would aggree to no condition, but that

they

they should yelde simply. Arimazes therupon dyspayring more of his estate, then he had cause, descendyd downe to the campe wyth the chiefest of the nacyon, that were of kinne to hym. All the whyche Alexander caused to be scourged with roddes, and be crucifyed at the foote of the rocke. The multitude that yelded, with the money that there was taken, were geuen in gyfte to thinhabiters of ehe newe cities. And the rule of the sayd rocke was committed to Artabasus, with the charge of the country there about.

(.˙.)

¶ The eyght booke of Quintus Curtus of the actes of the great Alexander kyng of Macedon.

ALexander hauinge wonne this rocke, with greater fame then glory, because hys enemies remained in no place certayne, it was necessary for hym to seperate hys power, & so deuided his armi in thre partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Ceno the other, & toke the third part vnto him selfe. His enemies were not al of one opynyon, for some of them seinge their defence could not auail, yelded them selues before the fyght, to whome he gaue the cyties and the landes of thoes that continued styl his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with .viii.C. horsemen wasted the villages of the Messagetes. For the redresse wherof, Attynas gouer-

Messagetes. Attynas.

nour

nour of that countrey, went agaynst them wyth .iii.C. horsemen not knowing that his enemies lay in wayte for him, whych had layig their imbushemēt in a Wood ioynyng to a great playne, had appoynted a certayne to driue cattell, therby to draWe their enemies wyth ꝑ gredines of the praye, Within daunger, of the enbushement. When Attinas men saWe the driuers of the cattayll, they pursued them without order, so that When they Were passed the Wood Where thimbushemēt lay, their enemies brake out vpon them castinge no suche perils, and slew them euery one. The fame of thys ouerthrowe, came inmediatly vnto Craterus, Whiche driuethether With the horsemē. But the Massagetes beyng fled before his comming, he slewe .M. of the Dahans that toke their parte, wherbi the Whole rebellion of the Whole countrey ceassed. Thus Alexander hauinge subdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whether (Berdes Whom he had sent to the Scythians inhabitinge about Bosphorus) came to hym With Embassadours of that countrey. Phrataphernes also that had the chyef rule of Masagetes and Dahans, whych nacions Were ioyned by affinitie togethers) sent certeyne messengers to Alexander, offrynge to be at hys commaundement. The Scythyan Embassadours made request that Alexander Would mary their kynges doughter, and if thea ffinitie pleased hym, that he Would suffre the prynces of the Macedons to enter in marryege lyke Wyse, wyth the noble mens doughters of their countrey: promisyng that the king should come in person to visite hym. He hard gently both the Embassades and, styll continued in that place, tyll Ephestion and Artabasus came vnto him, and then ioynyng his power againe to gether, came into the countrey

Dahans.

Phrataphernes.

thas

Bactria. that is called Bactria. There is nothing more esteamed in that nacion, then to haue great herdes of wilde beastes enclosyd in parkes, whych be very pleasaunt, & full of springes. Those parkes be enclosed with walles, and towers builded within them to be lodges for the hunters, There was one parke in that countrey that had remayned vnhuntyd, during the tyme of foure mens ages. wherinto Alexander entred wt his whole army, chasing the wilde beastes in euery quarter. Emonges the rest there was a lion of a rare bignes that came ronning towardes Alexander. whiche thynge when Lysimachus (that afterwardes was king, standing by chaunce then next to Alexãder, perceiued, he stepped before him, to receiue the lyon wyth his hunting speare. But Alexãder plucked hym back, and willed him to auoyde, sayenge that he was able to kyll a lyon so wel as Lysimachus. This Lysimachus on a tyme hũtyng in Syria killed by himself alone an huge lion. But he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, & put in great daũger of his life. which beinge the matter ỳ Alexander ment, he performed with that worde no les then he promised, for he did not only receiue the lyon, but killed hi wt one stroke. Therupon the fable did rise howe Alexander shuld haue cast Lysimachus to a lyõ But though Alexanders chaunce was good here in yet the Macedõs knew ỳ by the custome of hys coũtrei he should not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilite and frendes about hym. He killed within ỳ parke .iiii. M. wilde beastes, and there dyd bãket his army, returnyng afterwardes to Maricanda, Attabalus excusing himself there by his age, ỳ he was vnapt for the rule of that countrey, Alexãder commyt-

A power that the deuil wold not hunted, in my mens ages. nother the wild beastes by any mans trouble, in the tyme aforsaid.

Lysimachus.

ted

ted the same to Clitus, being the man that defendyd him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the riuer of Granick, and there cut of with his swordeRosaceris hād, that was in a redines to strike the kynge. He was an olde souldier of Philippe hys father, and notable by many feates of warre that he had done. Hellanice his suster was Alexāders nurse whome he loued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest parte of his Empire to his fidelitie. The kinge that purposyd to set forward in his iourney the next daye, made that night a solempne banket, Wherin (being ouergreate an aduaunter of him selfe) when he was chafed With drinking, begā to set furth the actes ẏ he had done, in suche sort that his Wordes offendid the eares of such as knew thē to be trew. The auncient men kept silēce till suche time as he begane to deface the doinges of Philippe his father, aduauntinge the notable victorie at Cheronese to be his dede, the glory Wherof (he saide) Was taken from him by the malice and enuye of his father. For he alledgyd howe in the mutine which rose betwene the Macedons and the Greake souldiours, Whē Phylip lay hurt of a Woūde which he receiued at a fray, thought him selfe sure no other wise then to counterfaite to be dead: when he defended his body With hys buckeler, & sleWe them With his owne hand that ran upō his father to haue kylled him. which act (he saied) his father Would neuer gladly cōfesse, nor neuer could abide to acknowledge his saufegarde to come by his sōne. He also declaryd howe after ẏ iourney he made by hi selfe into Illiria, in Writig vnto his father, he ascribed the victory vnto him selfe, which ouerthrew his enemies & put thē to

Alytus

Hellanice

Alexander offended his frēdes with ouer muche aduauntinge of himselfe

flicht

slight, when Philip was away. He said that in his opinio, it deserued but smal cōmēdatiō to make a iourney into Samothracia, whē Asia ought to haue ben spoiled & brēte. Nor he thought no mā worthy praise in deade, but such as do so great actes, ỹ may excede al mens credite. The yoūg mē that were presēt were glad to heare these wordes & such other like, but they were vngrateful vnto the, aūciētes, specially for Philips cause, vnder whō they had long serued. Thē Clitus which in like case was not verye sober, turned to such as sate beneth him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, wherof the kinge might rather heare the sounde then the wordes. The effect of thē was: that the Grekes did euil, which in the monumētes of their victories, did subscribe only the names of their kinges, whiche vsurped the glory to thē selfes that other men did wynne by sheding of ther bloud. Alexander therfore whiche iudged hys wordes to bene worse then they were, enquered of such as sat next him, what Clitus said. But whē they keapt silēce: Clitus with a lowder voyce rehersed in order philips doinges, & the warrs he made in Greace, preferring thē before eny actes don since ỹ time. Wherupō ther did rise a contēciō betwene the young mē & the old. But the king enforcing a pacies in him self, whē he hard Clitus deface his prayse cōceiued a wōderfull wrath in his mind. yet sit emyd ỹ he wold haue bridled his affection, if Clitus wolde haue made an end of his presūptuous talk. But whē he would not ceasse, he gaue occasiō to Alexāder to be further moued. Clitus then did procede so farforth, ỹ he durst defend Parmenios case, & preferred the victory that Philip wāne of the Athenyens, before the distrucciō of Thebes. And going further & further, not only

only through dronkēship but euen by a forwardnes of a contencious minde, at length saide: If we must dye through the, Clitus is the first. For they receyue greatest rewardes of thy victori ỹ can most shamefully deface thy fathers memory, The countrey of Sogdiā is giuen vnto me, that hath so often rebellyo, and now is not onely vnsubdued, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to subiectiō I am placed emōges those wild beastes, ỹ be of such an vnciuil disposicion. But I could passe ouer thinges parteynig to my self: if the souldiers of Philip were not despised, forgetting ỹ if ỹ old Atharias had not turned againe the young men. when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet styked about Alycarnasus. How is it thē that Asia is cōquerid vō these young mē: But I se it is true ỹ your vncle said in Italy: he caunsed vpon men, & you vpon womē. Ther was nothig ỹ Clitus spake or did in hys rashnes ỹ moued moze ỹ kinge, thē the honorable mēcion made of Parmenio, yet for al that he kept in his greif, & did nomore but cōmaūdid him to auoyde out of the place, & spake no other word sauig that he said: If thou talkest a lytle lenger, I thinke ỹ wilte brayde me with the sauing of his like: wherof in very dede he wold oftētimes prondly aduaūce him selfe. But notwithstandinge that the king had willed hym to deyte yet he taried stil, and wold not rise. And therfore suche as sat next him, toke him by the armes to lead hym a way, blaming and giuing him exhortaciō, for his better vsage. when Clitus saw he him self drawen forth against his will. Ire was addyd to hys dronkennes, & declared then alowde: howe that he with his breste defēded the kiges backe, but now whē the good turne was past, ỹ veri memory of his benefite was hated. & ther-

& frowarde & contentious mynde.

Clitus wordes.

When a good turne is done, the memorie is, the benefyte is hated.

therwith laid to his charge the death of Attalus, and fynally mocked the Oracle of Jupiter, whom Alexander claymed to be his father and sayd, that he told him better truth, then his father did. At those words the king was sturred to such wrath, as he could scarsly haue borne being sobre. But hauing then his ꝯceyes ouercome with drink, leaped sodenly from the table. His frendis were amased whiche throwing downe ꝑ cups for haste, risse to wait ꝑ end of the thing, they saw him go about in such a fury He toke a speare out of a squires hand and wold haue strikē Clytus, that was yet raging with thintemperaunce of his toung But he was stopped by Ptolomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in theyr armes, and stayed him for al hys stryuing. And Lysimachus and Leonatus toke awāy the speare. Then he called to his guarde for ayd crying out ꝑ he was taken by his next frēdes as Darius was of late, & willed the trūpet to be blowen, ꝑ the armed men might assēble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptolomeus fel downe vpō their knees requiring him ꝑ he would not perseuer in his wrath which he so sodeynlye had conceyued, but rather respite his displeasure, seynge that he might the next dai much more better order the matter. But his wrath preuayled so much, that his eares were shutte vp, & he ranne in a fury emonges the watchmen, plucking a speare out of one of their handis, whiche once gotten he stode in the entry, throughe the whiche they must nedes passe ꝑ supped with him. when al the rest were come forth, Clitus came last without light. And because Alexāder could not discerne him, he asked what he was, but that was done so terribly, ꝑ the cruelty of the acte he wēt about, apeared in his voice

But

But Clitus whiche seyng the kinge in a furye had no respect howe much he had offended him before, aunswered that he was Clitus, whyche was commynge from the kinges banquet. with that worde he strake hym throughe the body so ỹ he fel downe starke dead, & was all besprinckeled wyth hys blond. Go nowe quod he to Philip, Parmenio, & to Attalus. Herein it mai be sene that nature prouided euil in the dispositiõ of man, which for the more part can not consider so wel thynges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his dronkennes past, weying aduisedly the foulnes of the acte he had done: considered then that thoughe Clitus had vsed ouermuch libertie in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slayne so noble a mã of warre: yea, and the sauer of hys owne lyfe though he were ashamyd to confesse it. He saw that he beyng a kyng, had vsed the detestable office of an executyoner in reuengyng wyth wicked slaughter the libertie of wordes, which might haue ben imputyd vnto wyne. when he behealde the bloude of hym whiche a lytle before he had bydden to his banquet runne ouer all the entrey and that the watchemen were so astonyed and amased that they stode afarre of and durste not cõ nere: his solytarines caused hys repentaunce to be the greater. Then he plucked the speare out the dead corse, and woulde haue thrust it through his owne body, if the watchemen had not come runnynge, and with great striuyng wronge the same out of his handes. That done they toke him vp, & caried him into hys lodgynge, whereas he fel downe flatte vpon the grounde, fillynge all the courte full of the miserable noyse of hys howlinge and lamentaciõ He tare hys face wyth his nayles, & required suche as

stode aboute hym, that they Woulde not sucker hym to lyue in such a shame & dishonour. In theise requestes he consumed the whole nyghte, & caused dylygent serche to be made whether it were ỹ ire of the Goddes or no, that had caused him to cõmyt so heynous an acte. At length it Was founde that the yearely sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due time. And therfore it appeared manifestly, that it shoulde be the wrath of the Goddes, that hadde moued him to commit murther vpon eatyng and dryncking. But the greatest thyng that encreased hys sorowe, was the amasemẽt of hys frendes, When he sawe them shrynke from him and that none of them after that deade done, Would gladly vse suche familiar communication as they dyd before. Then he perceyued that he should liue as a wild beast in a desert, both fearing others, and also afrayed hym self. The next morowyng he commaunded the body bloudy as it Was, to be brought into his chambre, whiche When he sawe lyeng before hym fel in Weppyng and sayd: Shal I after this sort requit my nurse, Whose. ii. sonnes slayne for my glory at miletum, I haue now killed her brother that Was her onlye Joye, at myne owne bourd: What refuge shal that Wretched woman haue: I Was all the comfort that dyd remayne to her, and now she shall neuer be gladde to behold me. Shal I the wycked kyller of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shal not be hable to presente my hãd vnto my nurse wythout the remembraunce of her mysery, When he could put no end to thicke kynde of bewayling, & complayntes, the body Was taken away by the apoyntment of his frendes. After he had layen thre dayes shut vp in his chambre, sorowing after this manner, the squiers & such as had the keaping of hys

Alerãders lamẽtacyõ for the death of clito

persone

persone seing him geuen obstinatly to death, brake into his lodging, and w gr at payne brought him (though he long wstode their prayers) at length to take some relefe and sustenaunce. And to the entent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clitus death, the Macedons, decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffre him to be buried, but that the kinge commaunded it. Hauyng consumyd ten dayes at Maracanda, specially to conkyrme the shame he had conceyued of Clitus death, sent Ephestiō With parte of his army into Bactria to prouide victuaels agaist Witer. And committed the same prouyence vnto Amintas, Whyche before he had gyuen to Clytus. Frō thence he Went into a countrey called zenyppa ꝑ confineth With Scithians: Whiche being Wel inhabited & ful of villages, doth wyth the plentifulnes thereof, not only deteine the inhabiters to dwell their still, but also inuiteth straungers to come emonges thē. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that styl rebellyd, but after Alexanders cōming Was knowne, they Were driuen furth by the coūtrey men, and two. M. and two hondred of theyr horsmen assembled togither which were accustumed to liue by theft and spoyle in tyme of peace. whom not onely the Warre but also dyspayre of forgeuenes, had made more cruel, and their Wild disposicions worse. They gaue an onset so deynlye vpon Amyntas, ꝑ Was Darius lieutenāt. The battail Was long doubtful betwixt them, but fynally they lost. vii. hundred of there nombre whereof. iii. C. were taken prysoners, & turned there backes to the bytorours, not Wythout a reuenge, for they slewe of them. iiii. score besides thre hundred and. L. that they Wounded. And yeat notwythstandynge after thys seconde rebellyon they obteyned pardon.

zenippa.

Amyntas.

After dronken nesse, sorow & shame and repentaunce.

Naural Sylymythres.

When Alexander had broughte them to obedience, he came with his hole army into a coūtrey called Naura, the lorde whereof was called Sylymithres, who had gotten two sonnes by hys owne mother it being lawfull there for the parentes to vse there childzen. The same Sylimythres with two thousād armed mē fortefyed & kept the streight at the entreye of the countrey where as it was moste narowe. The passage was defendyd both with a riuer & with a rock, throughe the which rock the way was made by force of hande. The lighte is receynyd in at the entre, but further inward there is none, but such as mē bryng wyth them. From this rocke there goeth a vawte vnderneth the groūde that hath issues into the feldys, which be not knowē but to such as be of the same coūtrey. Though thys streight was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong power, that letted not Alexander to attempt it. but brought engynes which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortificatiō as was made with hand, and with slinges and shote of arrowes, did beat his enemyes from the places of their defence. When he hadde driuen them awaye, he passed throughe the fortificacions he hadde wonne, and made approche vnto the rocke. But the streame that grew of the assemble of waters fallinge from the mounteyne was an impedimente to him therin. It seamed a wonderfull worke to fil the chanel of the riuer, yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to the place, and set the thig in hande. When his enemys that neuer had sene eny such worke before, sawe the worke ryse sodanlye lyke a mountayne, were put in a maruaylous feare, which the kinge supposing they might haue bene brought to render

Moste honorable Imest, amonge the heritzens.

render it vp: lent one Oxatres of the same nacyon to persuade Sysimithres to render the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more terrour, he caused towers of woode to be brought forwardes, and dyd shote wyth engines so out of the same, that the enemies forsakynge all other strengthes, retyred into the toppe of the rocke. Oxatres finding Sisymythres in thys feare, perswaded hym rather to proue Alexãders beniuolence then his force, and seyng al creatures submitted theym selues vnto hym, that he onely shoulde not be his let, goynge wyth hys victorious army into Iudia, wherby he should turne other mens plages vpon his owne necke. Sisymythres would haue bene contented to folowe his aduise, but that she whyche was both his mother and hys wyfe, affyrmed howe she woulde rather dye, then commit her selfe into enye mans hande. And therfore beinge ashamed that the loue of libertye shoulde remayne more in a womã thẽ in hym being a man, altered hys purpose, takynge that way whiche was more honest then sure, and dismissed hym that was the meane for peace, determynyng vtterly to abyde the extremitie of the siege, yet when he had weyed well his enemies power and hys owne togethers, began agayne to repent him of hys wyues counsayle, as of a deuise more rashe then profytable, and made sute that Oxatres woulde returne, profferynge then to commit him selfe to the kinges wil, onely requiring of Oxatres that he would not vtter hys wyues mynde and opynyon, for fear least she shoulde not obteyne hyr pardon. He sente therfore Oxatres before, & he came after wyth hys wyfe, his children, and all his kynsfolke wythout taryinge for eny assuraunce promised to hym by Oxatres. Alexander hearynge of theyr

Some women's counsell is more wyse, then is profitable.

their commynge, sente his horsmen before to cause theim to staye, and tarye for hys comming. And whē he was come to the place where they did abyde, he offered Sacrifice to Minerua and victorya, restorynge to Sylymythres his former rule & authoritie, puttynge him in hope of a greater countrey, if he woulde faithfully continue his frendshippe, and take his two sonnes presentyd to him by the father, to serue in hys warres. Alexander lefte his footemen to subdue such as were yeat vnyealdē, and went forwardes with his horsmen into other partes. The waye was craggye & difficulte, whych at the first they endured indifferentely, but afterwardes whē their horse houes were torne asunder, and they vtterly forweried, many were not able to folow, but ridde dispeckled, and oute of order, ȳ werines of their trauaile so muche ouertrante shame. The kynge not withstandynge chaunged often horse and pursued without ceassing his enemies that fled before hym. By reason whereof all the noble younge men that were wonte to accompanye hym were lefte behynde, sauynge onelye Philippe Lysimachus brother, Who then beynge in the floure of his youth, and of great likelihode to becume an excellent man, folowed on fote the kynge that did ride on horsbacke by the space of fifty furlonges, Lisymachus diuers tymes for all that proffered to hym hys horse. But in no wise he would depart from the kyng, notwithstandyng that he had on his corselet and all his armour. When the kinge passed through a woode where hys enemies laie in embushement, he fought notably, and rescued the kinge fightyng wyth hys enemyes. But after they were put to flyghte and driuen oute of the woddes, the greatnes of his courage which had lus-

Philip

ned

ned hym in the heate of the fighte faynted with hys bodye, and beynge all on a swette, leaned him selfe to a tree, whiche did not so staye him but that he fell to the earthe, and beyng taken vp againe by the kynges handes, shronke downe from hym and died. The king beyng sore wfull for his deathe, receiued an other tydynges, no lesse to be lamentyd. For before he came to hys campe he was aduertised of the death of Erigius, one of hys moste notable Capitaynes, whose funerals were both celebrated wyth great pompe and ceremonies of honoure. From thence he determined to goo vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauoure hym, fynished that iourney of hys, as she dyd manye other. Spytamenes was enflamed wyth the ouermuche loue of hys wife, whom he caried wyth hym in all his hasardes and aduentures. But she that coulde not well endure flyinge, nor to chaunge places like an outelawe, became so werye of trauayle, that by flattery and fayre meanes, she entised her husbande to leaue his flyeng, and go about (seing he sawe no way to escape) to procure Alexanders fauoure, of whose clemencye (she sayd) he had sene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, she brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request, that at the least wayes he would take pity on them, wherein she thoughte her praier woulde be the more effectuall, because Alexander was so nere at hande. But Spitamenes iudging her not to do this by waie of counsaile, but of purpose to betraie him and that she desiered to submit her self vnto Alexander in confidēce of her beautie drewe oute his swerde to haue striken her if he hadde not

Spytamenes

bene letted by hys brethren. whē they would not suffer hym otherwise to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoyde hys syght, threatenyng to kyl her if she prosered to come againe to his presence. And to mitigate hys loue towardes her, he spente the nyght emonges hys concubynes. But his loue that was so deapelye grounded thereby ceassed not, but rather kendeled the more towardes his wyfe. wherefore he reconsiled hym selfe agayne vnto her, making his continuall request, that she would not counsail nor moue hym eny more in the matter, but be content wyth suche chaūces as Fortune would sende him, for he esteamed death lyghter then to yeld him selfe. She purged her selfe of her former persuasion, whiche appered to her (she sayd) to haue bene good, and thought it were after a womās maner, yeat it proceaded of a faithful meanynge, yet from thence forth she was coutentyd to do as it should please him. Spytamenes ouercome with her counterfait affection, made agreate feast, and after much eatyng and drinkinge became drowsie, and was caryed into his chamber. When his wife perceiued hi to be in a deape sleape she pulled out a sworde whiche she had kept secretelye for that purpose, and cut of hys head deliuering the same being sprinkeled with bloud vnto her seruaunte that was priuy to the facte, and with him onlye as she was enbued wyth bloude came vnto the Macedons campe, willinge it to be signified to Alexāder that there was one come, that hadde to speake with him. He by and by gaue cōmaundement she should entre, but when he perceyued her defiled with bloud (thinkig that she had come to) lamente some iniurye done vnto her, wylled her to declare what she would haue. She desiryd that her seruaunt myght come in, from vndernethe whose gar

ment

ment she toke Spitamenes hedde, and presentyd it vnto Alexander. The palenes of the face wantynge bloude, had take away the knowledge Whose it was. But When the kinge perceiued it to be a mans hedde, he departyd forth of the tente, and by enquerie vnderstode the matter. The case brought him in greate perplexitie, and was driuen by diuers ymaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged the kyllynge of suche one (being a fugityue and a rebell) to be greate benefite vnto him, Whiche liuinge myght haue bene great a greate let and impediмente to his proceadynges. But one the other syde, considerynge the horriblenes of the deade, that she should kill him by treason which loued her so entirely, and by Whome she had had children: the violence of the acte, ouercame the thanke of her benefite, & she was cõmaũded to depart the Camp lest the ensample of such lycẽcyousnes, might corrupt the maners and ciuill dyspositiõ of the Greakes. When the Dahãs vnderstode of Spytamenes death they brought Dataphernes boũd that Was partener with him in hys cõspiracy, and yealded thẽ selues vnto Alexander. He being delyueryd from the greateste part of his present care, determinyd to reuenge the iniuries of them which had ben misused by the pride and couetousnes of his deputyes and officers. Therfore he committed Hircania with the Mardons and Tapyrions to Phrataphernes, to whome he gaue in cõmissiõ to sende Phradates his predecessour to hi as a prisõer. Ptalamer Was substitutyd ruler of Carya in the place of Arsamus. Arsaces was sent into Media to thintent that Oxidates should remoue from thẽce Babylon vpon the death of Mazeus Was committed to Diditamenes. When he had ordeyned theise thynges

Spitamenes wyfe brought the heade of her husbande vnto Alexander, but the violence of the deade, toke awaie the thanke of the benefyte, for he commanded her to depryue the Cuntre.

thinges, the third moueth, he dryue his army out of their Winter lodginges, to go vnto a coūtrey that was cal-
Gabala. led Gabala. The firste dayes iourney was quiet, and
Tempestious the next not very tempestuous yet darker thē had bene accustumed, but not without some sygnifycatyon of ther calamityes that were commyng. The third daye the element was full of lyghtnyng, and when the light-
Tempest. nyng cessed, it was very darke. The beholdinge therof amasyd the souldiers, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in straunge symilytudys, so that the army stode astonyes and durst neither go forwardes nor remayne styll in a place. Then there came sodaynely a shower of hayle dryuyng lyke a streame, whyche at the firste they defended by couerture of their harneys. But shortelye after their handes were so colde and wette, that they could not holde their weapons, nor yet deuise whiche waye to turne them selues, fyndyng alwayes where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempeste then before. Euerye manne therefore brake hys arraye, wanderynge aboute the woodes, and many that were wery-ed by feare rather then by trauayle, laye downe vpō the grounde, notwythstandynge that the force of the colde hadde conuertyd the shower into a frosse. The trees agaynst whych they leaned, was a great refuge and helpe to manye. And yet they were not ygnorant when they rested, that they chose them selues a place of death, for when they left to moue their bodyes, the naturall heate left theim. But ease was so pleasaunt to such as were wery-ed, that they refusyd not to dye in restyng of them selues. Their afflictyon was not onely vehement for the tyme, but also contynued very longe, to the encrease wherof the lyghte whyche is a

natural

natural dilectacion vnto menne, through the darknes of the shower, and the shadowe of the Wood was so taken awaye, that it appeared as it hadde bene nyght. The kynge onely Was able to endure this myschieke, Whyche ceassed not to go aboute the armye, drawyng the souldiours together When they Were dysperkyd, lyftyng them vp that laye on the grounde, and to encourage theym, he shewed theym the smoke that rose afarre of from the Cotagies, whether he exhorted theym to drawe for succour. There was not eny thynge more effectual to their sauegeuarde, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue theyr Prince, Whome they saw endure thys myschycke, they chaked theym selues wyth their labour and trauyle. But necessite whyche in aduerse fortune is of more force then eny reason, founde out a remedy for this colde. They fel to cuttyng downe the Woode, makynge euery e where heapes and stackes therof, and set them on fire. Then a man Would haue iudged that the Whole Woode, had bene on a flambe. For there was scarcelye space lefte betwyxte the fyres for men to stande, Then theyr nummed members begā to be moued with the heate, & their spryytes Which Were oppressed by force of the colde, begane to haue their free recours. Some recouered the cotagies, Whyche necessytye caused theym to seke out in the furthermooste parte of the Woode, and the rest recouered the campe, whyche Was planted in a moyste ground. But by that tyme the shower was ceassed, the tempest, had sumed a thousande souldiours, peelets, and slaues. It is sayde that diuers Were founde frosen to deathe leaning agaynst trees, and yet seamed as thoughe they had ben lyuinge and speakinge together. It chaunsed that

Then ran he on & greater greife to him, then to be kept in contynuall darkned.

In aduersitie, necessitie is of more force then reason.

that a common ſouldiour of the Macedons Whyche had muche payne to goe and cary hys armour, came at the laſt into the campe Where the king Was, Who not Withſtandyng that he Was chafyng of hys owne bodye againſt the fyre, yet he did riſe out of hys chayre and pullinge of the nummed ſouldiers armour that he Was paſt his remembraunce, ſette him do Wne ther in. He a great Whyle knew not Where he ſatte, or Who had receiued him. But at length whē his natural heate came to him, and perceyued it to be his kinges ſeate, and the kynge to be there preſente, Was affrayed, and ſtarte vp againe. But Alexāder beheld him in the face, and ſayd: Perceyueſt thou not now my ſouldier, with how muche better condicion thou liueſt then the Perciens do vnder their king: For it is death for them to ſit in the kinges ſeate, and the ſame hath bene the ſaue guarde of thy life. The next day he called his frendes, and the captaynes of the armye togethers, promiſing to reſtore to them Whatſoeuer they had loſt. wherin he performed his promis, For Syſimithres bringing vnto him many beaſtes of burden With two. M. Camels, and great nombre of ſhepe and oxen, he diſtributed all emonges the ſouldiers: Wherin he bothe reſtored to them their loſſe, and alſo deliuered them frō their honger. The kyng gaue great thankes vnto Syſimithres, and commaunding his ſouldyers to cary fyue dayes victuals ready dreſſed, went to the Sacans Where he deſtroyed al their countrey, and of the botye there taken gaue. xxx. thouſand ſheape in gift to Syſimythres. Frō thence he came vnto a coūtrey belongig to a noble vice called Cohortan⁹, which ſubmitted hi ſelfe vnto ꝯ kīng. And he agayne reſtored his cōtrey vn

to

to hym, exacting nothing of his, but ỹ of hys thre sonnes, he should sende two with him to serue his warres. But Cohortanus offred to him al three and made a feste vnto Alexander with all suche sumptuousnes as belongyd to the maner of the countrey. Therein al the pleasures beynge shewed that coulde be deuysed thyrty virgines of the noble mẽs childrẽ were brought in before Alexander emonges whome, there was Cohortanus doughter called Roxane, which in beauty & excellens of personage, and in comlynes of apparayll (rare emonges those nacions) excellyd all the reste. And not with standing that they were all electe with whome she was accompanied, yet she drewe al mens eyes towardes her, and specially the kynges, ỹ coulde not wel now gouerne his affections in such prosperite of fortune: being the thyng that the fraylenes of man seldome can auoyde. Thus he whych beheldе the wife of Darius and her two doughters (to whome Roxan was nothyng comparable) with no other entent thẽ he myght haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgine, beinge but of a base stocke if she shoulde be compared to kynges bloud that he affirmed it to be a thyng necessary for ỹ establyshement of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to mary togethers: by whych only meanes shame myght be taken from the vanquyshed, & pryde from the victorours. He also for hys purpose alledged a presydent how Achilles (of whome he was descendyd) ioyned hym selfe with a captiue. And lest hys doynges should be thoughte iniurye, he woulde couple hym selfe by the waye of maryage. The father ioyful of theise newes that he loked not for gladly

Roxane

Affections are bredde, gouerned in prosperite of fortune.

Ceremony of mariage emonges the Macedons.

for gladly confirmed the kynges Wordes. who in the heate of his desire, caused bread to be brought furth according to the custome of hys countrey, the same beynge the moste religious ceremony of mariage emonges the Macedons. whiche bread was cut a sonder with a sworde, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought that suche as establyshed the customes of that nacion, couetyd by a moderate and a scarse diet, to shewe to them that were the gatherers of great ryches, with howe smalle a thynge they ought to content them selues. Thus he that was both kyng of Asia and Europe, ioyned hym selfe in mariage with a mayde brought in at a maske, to be get vpon a captiue, that shoulde reigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His frēdes were ashamed that he should chose vpon drinke a father in law, of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clitus all the libertie and franckenes of speache beinge taken away, they seamed to aggree with their countenaunces, as with the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towardes India, purposinge to visite the Occean Sea. And because he would leaue nothing behynde his backe that might be impediment to hys expedicion: toke ordre for thirty thousand young men to be leuied out of all the prouinces, and to be brought vnto him armed, myndyng to vse them both as pledges and souldiers. He sent Craterus, to pursue Haustenes, and Cathenes, of whome the one was taken, and the other slayne. Policar pon also subdued the countrey that was called Bubacen. And so hauing set all thinges in ordre, he sette his whole imaginacion vpon the warre of Inde, whiche

Bubacen.

was

was coũted to be a very ryche couutrey, & to haboũd both With golde, perles, & pꝛecious stones thynges moꝛe apperteynent to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence, & it Was said that the souldiers there hadde their targettes made of Juery, and of gold. And therfoꝛe lest he which thought hym selfe to excell the reste, should be passed in eny point, caused his souldiers to garnysh their targettes with platesof siluer, the hoꝛsmē to make their bꝛidels of gold, and their coꝛseletes to be beWtefied, with golde, and Wyth syluer. There were hundꝛed & .xx. thousand armed men that followed Alexander to that warre. When al thynges were in redynes, foꝛ the purpose he longe befoꝛe conceiued in his euill disposed mynde, thought it tyme to compasse, hoW he might vsurp the name and honoure of a god, and so Willed him selfe not onlyꝛ to be called, but also beleaued to be the sõne of Juppiter: asthough his pꝛoWer had bene aswell to restreyne mens thoughtes as their toũges. His entent Was that the Macedons shoulde fall grouelinge vpon the ground and Wourshyp him after the like maner the Percians dyd their kinges. And to such his desire, there wanted not pernitious flattery: the perpetuall poyson of pꝛynces Whose estate hath hadde moꝛe often ouerthꝛoWes by flattery, then by eny foꝛce of enemies. The Macedons Wer not in blame of this, foꝛ none of them suffrid gladly ther coũtrey custumes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Greakes, which with ther naughtye condicions, coꝛrupted the pꝛofession of honest sciences. Ther was one Hagys of Argiue as cupl a poet as Was since Chirillus dayes, & another called Cleo a Cicilyan, geuẽ to flattery both of nature and by the custume of his countrey. They With other the dꝛedge and

Apperteynent

Alexander coueteth to be honored as a god.

The pernitious poyson of flatterie, Whyche oftentymes more preuayled, then force of enemyes.

Hagys.
Chirillus.
Cleo.
Men by kynde geuen to flattery by nature.

and refuse of their countreys Whome Alexãder repu-
ted more then eny of his captaynes or hys kynsmen)
wold haue made it appere to the world, that heauẽ had
layen open for Alexander, and stycked not openlye to
pronoũce that both Hercules, and Bacchus Chastor
and Pollux shoulde al giue place to his newe godhed.
For ẏ brynging of those thinges to passe the kyng cõ-
maunded vpon a solempne day a feast to be prepared
With great pompe, inuiting ther vnto al the great lor-
des, and gentlemen both of the Macedons & the Grea-
kes, Wyth Whom Whẽ he had sitten & eating awhile,
he departed from them out of the feast. Then Cleo, as
Was before determined, set furth his talke with great
prayse and Wonder of the kinges vertues, reherslinge
hys exceedyng benefites towardes them al, Which to
requite he sayd ther Was but one Waye, and that was
if they Would ackno Wledge him a God Whome they
knew to be one. For it is a smal thyng. qd he to recom
pence such great benefites towardes you, with the cost
of a litel frãkinsence, He shewed the Persians custume
to be both religious and Wyse in Worshyppinge there
kinges as gods: thinkyng ther defence & sauegard to
consist in the maiestye of ther prince. He sayd, that Her
cules & bacchus Wer deified, when they had once ouer-
come the enuye of such as lyued in their tyme. And mẽ
ẏ come after do easely beleaue such thigs, as haue bene
confirmid by there predecessours. If eny of you (qᵖ he)
Wyl sticke at this matter, ye shall se me the fyrste ẏ at
the kinges comming in, shal fall downe grouelyng on
the earth & wourship hi. Whiche presidẽt others ought
to folowe and specyally men of moste wysdome, that
should alWayes be ensample to others indoinge theyr
duyties towardes theyr prynce. Hys tale tẽdyd direcly
against

agaynſt Calliſtenes Whoſe grauitye and prompt lybertye of ſpeaking Was hateful vnto the king, for he thought him the mã, Which only had ſtayed the Macedons, that ells Wold redely haue done to him that honour. Herupon euery mans eies, Were turned towardes Calliſtenes, Which after ſilence made, ſaid in this Wiſe: If the kinge Were preſente, Cleo, to heare theis thy Words, it ſhuld not be nedeful then to aunſwer the, for he hi ſelf Wold make requeſt ỹ he might not thus ſwarue out of his kynde, into the cuſtumes of ſtraungiers. Nor he Would not ſuffre ỹ thou ſhuldeſt deface & bring in the obloquie & enuy of men, wt ſuch thi pernicious flattery, his noble actes brought to paſſe with ſuch felicyty and good fortune. But becauſe he is awaye, I for hym Will thus anſWere the. There is no frute ſone rype, that wil contine W long. This I meane by the nine honours, which Whyles thou goeſt about to geue vnto the kynge, thou takeſt his honour from him. There is a tyme required that men ſhuld beleaue him to be a god, for that gift hath alWaies bene geuen to great men, When they ar once dead, by ſuch as came after theim, I Wyſhe vnto the kyng immortalitie after his death, and that hys lyfe maye be longe and his eſtate continuall. But ſanctifieng is a thinge that ſomtime doth folowe a man, but it doth neuer accõpany hi. Thou didde ſtreherſe enſamples of the deifieng of Hercules, and Baccus. Thinkeſt thou that they Were made Goddes vpon drinke, and by the decre of one dynner? the nature of Alexanders manhode muſt be remoued frõ our mortal eyes, before the fame can bringe him into heauen. Are not they goodly goddes (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Would the kyng (troweſt thou) be content

to receiue of vs ꝑ auctho̅itie of his godded. I haue great desyre to ꝓue thy power. If ꝑ canst make a god, first make a kynge. It is muche moꝛe easye to geaue a woꝛldly kindome, then the possession of heauen. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immoꝛtall goddes will heare the without dysdayne, oꝛ suffre theise thy wicked deuises to take effecte: they would we shuld holde as content with the customes of our foꝛe fathers, and foꝛ my part I am not ashamed of my cou̅trey, noꝛ I require not to learne after what maner I should honoure my ꝓince. Foꝛ in mine opinyon, we acknowledge him sufficiently to be king & victo rour, of whome we receiue lawes to liue vnder. Calystenes was fauourably hard of al men, as the perSone whome they cou̅ted the recouerer of their vnyuersall libertie. He did not onely in hys tale paynte out such flatterers, but also liuely expꝛessyd the opion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whome the exchaunge of their old vsages were greuous. The kyng was nothynge ignoraunt of the woꝛdes that had passed bet wyxt them, foꝛ he stode behinde a partition of the hall and heard all the matter. He sent woꝛd therfoꝛe to Hages, and Cleo, that at his comming in, they should moue the straungers only to fall downe and woꝛship him after their cou̅trey custome. And after a while, the king as thoughe he had bene aboute some matters of importaunce, returned agayne into the feaste: and then he Persians fell downe and woꝛshipped hym after suche soꝛte as was deuysed. But Policarpon that sat aboue the kynge at the boꝛde, asked one in skoꝛne that touched the ground with his chynne, why he kyssed no harder. With which woꝛdes he moued Alexanders

ander to yre, Wherof he Was euer vnpacient. So that, he sayde vnto Polycarpon: It is thou that disdaynest to honour me: shall I be mocked of the alone: He aunswered that it Was not seamely a king should be skorned, nor yet a subiect be despysed. With Whiche Worde the kyng plucked him from the table and threwe him downe. to whome he sayde, sallynge grouelynges vpon the earth: Lo hast ỹ not done thy self, that before thou diddest skorne in an other mā, & therupon he commaūded him to Ward, and so brake vp the feast. Polycarpon being thus punished, Was afterwardes pardonyd. But Calisthenes whose contempt and stubburnes the kynge had longe grudged at, grounded his displeasure then more deaper, vpō Whome there chaūsed shortly after an apt occasiō to be reuengyd. It was a custome (as it hath bene sayd before) emonges the noble men of Macedon to put their sonnes When they were past their childhode in seruice to the king, as pages to do necessary busines about his person. Their vsage was to watche nightli by course at the chambre doore Where the kyng lay. The concubines Were brought in by theym, by an other way then Where the guarde watched. They lykewyse receyued the horses of the gromes of the stable and brought them to the kyng when he leaped on. They alWayes Were about ỹ kyng both in hunting and in battayll, and Were brought vp in the study of lyberall sciences. The chiefest honour Was geuen vnto them, because they might sitte and eate Wyth the kynge, none had power to correcte theym Wyth stryppes but only the kynge hym self. This company was like a masse or store, from Whēce al the captains and gouernours of the Macedons dyd come. From

Alexander Was crowned to yere.

A kynge Should not be Wrothe nor a subiect dispised.

A treason conspired agaynst Alexander.

thence came their latter kinges whose lynage the power of the Romaynes longe after did extinct. Harmolaus one of that nombre, because he had strike a boye (whome the kyng had thought to haue striken hym) self, was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged wyth roddes, whyche rebuke he toke greuously, and complayned to Sostrates his frende: that was one of the same company. whyche seyng the body toyne, wherunto he had so great affection, & peraduenture offended also with the king before for some other cause stirred so Harmolaus (whyche was prouoked suffycyently alredy, that eche gaue fayth to other to fynd a way to destroye the kynge. whyche they executed not wyth eny chyldishe procedyng, but wysely agreed to bryng Nycostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, & Philotas, into the felowshyp of their cõspiracie. And afterwardes they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptomus, & Phimmanes. But the meane how to perfourme this purpose seamed very difficult, because it behoued al thẽ to watche togethers. And it was the vsage that accordyng to their courses some watched one nighte, and some another. For if eny should happen emonges them, that were not preuye to the matter, the same myght be a let to the whole enterprise, Therfore about chaungyng the course of theyr watche, & in other preparatiõ for the execution of their purpose, ther passed .xxxii. dayes. At lengthe the nighte came when the whole nõbre of the cõspiratours shuld watch togethers, Who reioysed greatly emõges thẽselues, that eche had kepte fayth to other, wherof so many dayes sylence had geuen good proufe, duryng which time neither feare, nor hope, had alterid eny of their mindes: so great was the pleasure they had cõ

Sostrates

ceyued

ceyued agaynst the king, or els the fidelyte they bare eche to other. Thei were stãding at the dore where the kig did eate, to thintẽt ỹ at his rising frõ the banquet, they myght bring hi to his chamber. But Alexãders fortune, & the pleasauntnes of such as were in hys cõpany, moued him to drinke largely Wherby & by reason of other pastimes & deuises, the time was so prolõged, ỹ the cõspiratours stode in a marueylous perplexitie. For one while they were glad because they trusted to find him drõke Whẽ they shuld go about their enterpryse, & an other while they were in great agony lest he shuld sit til day light, for then the custome was to releaue ỹ watche, & other to succede in their places & synce their course shuld not be come agayne til the. viii. night after, they could not be assured ỹ euery one of thẽ would keape the thyng secreate al ỹ tyme. But Whẽ the day began to appeare, & Alexander was ryssen from the bãquet, thei were so glad to execute their malice, ỹ they became ioyful to receiue the kig. There was a womã accustomed to haũt the court (which being extraught of her minde, and semig by some inspyracion to shewe thingz to come) mette Alexander, and would in no wyse suffre hi passe, but persuaded hi by al meanz she could deuise, to returne & sit downe agai. He sayde to her in sporte that the goddes gaue hym good aduyse. and therupõ called backe agayne hys familiers, and sat drinkyng til it was two hourz after day lyght. By which time an other company had releaued the watche, & were standing before the kynges chamber wre: yet for al that the conspiratours remained styll after the tyme of their watche expired: So vehement is the hope whiche mens myndes conceiue When they be drowned in the desire of greate thinges

The winked and dissement, to be bringe their winkmentes to effect.

The king spake more gently to them then he was accustumyd, and willed them to goe to their rest, for so much as they had watched al ỹ night before. & gaue vnto euery one of thē in reward. v. sestercies, with cōmendacion of their diligēce, ỹ they contynued theyr watche lenger then their tyme. Being thus deceyued of the great hope they were in, they departed to theyr lodginges, in expectaciō of the night when their course shuld come agayn. But Ephimanes whych either by the gentleues the kynge shewed him emonges the rest or els that he thought the prouidence of God had withstand their purpose, sodenly chaūged his minde, & openid the matter they had gone about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuie to the matter before. The punishement of Philotas was so freshe in euery mans memory, ỹ Eurilochus layd streighte wayes hādes vpon his brother, and brought hym into the court. He called to the watche and shewed thē that he brought newes pertayning to the kynges saueguarde. which thing well appeared, aswel by their cōming at such a time, as also by their sadnes, which was a testimony of their troubled mides. The watch mē called vp Ptolomeus & Leonatus that lay wīn the kinges chambre, which streightway brought thē into the king, & wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a dead sleape. It was lōg or he awoke, but by litle & litle he came to hymself, & asked what the matter was. Thē said Eurilochus: thāked be the goddes ỹ haue not vtterlye determined the ruine of our famely, for though my brother purposed an heynous act, yet is he come to repentaunce, by hi the matter is brought to light. This same veri night treasō was cōspired agaynst you, the authours ther of be such as you would scarsely thynke. And therupō

Ephimanes dissolued & confyteth.

Eurilochus

Ephima-

Ephimanes declared al thinges in ordre, With the na
mes of the conspiratours. It is certayne that Caly-
stenes was not named as one priuy to that treason.
but it was confessed ỳ he gladly gaue eare to others
talke, whē they blamed & spake euil of the kynges pro
cedinges. Some do adde therunto, that when Harmo
laus did complayne to Calistenes howe the king had
beatē him. he had hym remēbred how he was a mā.
But whether he spake it to take the thing in pacīēce
or els to sturre him to further malice, it remayneth i
doubte. whē the kinge was fully awaked, & called to
his memory the peril he was in, gaue Eurilochus fif
ty talentes, With the forfeit of a riche mans goodes
called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother before his
pardō was required. He cōmaunded the principals
of this treason to be kept bound, and emonges them
Calistenes, Who beinge taken and brought into the
courte, the kyng slept al that day and the nyghte en
suynge he was so heuy With drinking and watching
The next day he called a great counsail, Wherat the
fathers and kinsfolkes of the cōspiratours were pre-
sent, not very Well assured of their owne saueguarde
because that by the lawe of the Macedons all ought
to dye, that were eny thyng a kynne to traytours. All
the conspiratours excepte. Calistenes, by the kynges
cōmaūdemēt were brought furth, immediatly cōfes-
sing the Whole treason they had deuised. Then euery
man presēt reuiled them, and the king enquired what
he hadde done to theym, Why they shoulde conspyre
hys death. When all the other stode styll and helde
theyr peace, Harmolaus aunswered thus: ye
demaunde thys thynge of vs, as though ye knewe
not the mater. We went about to kyll you,

[illegible] dismayed to yeme come vnto kinge, and speake euell of the prynces procedinges.

The macedons had a lawe yt all they shoulde dye that were a kynne to traitours.

The wordes of harmolaus to the kynge.

because ye beganne to reigne ouer vs, as if we were
slaues & not free borne. As he was speaking those
wordes his father Persepolys called hym traytoure
and murtherer of hys parētes, stoppynge his mouth
with hishande, because he should speake no further.
Then the kyng plucked his father backe, and willed
Harmolaus to speake, suche thynges as he hadde
learned of his maister Calistenes. Then Harmolaus
proceded: I wyl vse your benefite, and declare those
thynges whiche I haue learned to the greate myf-
chief of vs all. How smale is the nombre of the Ma
cedons remayning, that haue escaped your cruelty.
O noble men, and worthy warryours. Attalus Philotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexāder
& Clytus, are now deade, but to our enemies behoue
they be alyue. They stode in the fight, & defendyd the
w swerdis receuig woūdes for your glory & victory,
which now be very wel rewarded. The one be spryne
keld youre table with his blonde, & the other could
not be suffred to dye a simple death. Thus the cap-
taynes of your people be tormēted & put to death: a
plesaūt spectacle to ỳ Persians, of whome they wer
victorours Parmenio by whome ye slew your ene-
mye Attalus, was put to death without iudgemēt.
Thus ye vse the hādes of vs wretches as instrumē-
tes one to kill another, and suche as yeuen nowe
were youre tormentours, streyght wayes you com
maūd to be tormentyd of others. At those wordes
the multitude began to shoute against Harmolaus,
and his father drewe his sworde to haue slayne him,
if he had not ben letted by the kyng, whiche com-
maunded Harmolaus to speake, requiring the reste
to heare him pacientlỳ. Which (he sayd) enforced the
cause of hys owne punishment. At lengthe with greate

labour: they helde their peace, and then Harmolaus began agayn: how liberall is he to suffer rude children to speake: when the voice of Calistenes is shut vp in prison because he alone is able to tell his tale, and why because he feareth the free speache of an innocent, and because he can not endure to beholde his face, and yet I wyl iustifie he is not pryuie to this matter. But other there be here that purposed wyth me a noble enterpryse, of whom there is not eny that can accuse Calistenes of consente, and yet oure so pacient and righteous a kig hath determined heare his death. Theise be the rewardes of the Macedons, whose bloude is misused as vyle and of no valeur. He hath .xxx. M. mules carieg spoyle and treasure, and yet the poore souldiers cary nothing with them but vnrewarded woundes and skarres. All whyche thynges, we did easely suffre before he did betray vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade, of victourours make vs slaues. He alloweth the apparayl & discipline of the Persians, & despiseth the maners of hys own countreye. And therfore we determined to kyl hym, not king of Macedon but king of Perse, and as a fugitiue persecuted him by the lawe of armes. He would haue the Macedons knele to hym and worshyp him as a god. He refused Philip for his father, and if eny God hadde bene before Jupiter, he would haue refused him likewise. Doe you marualle if free men can not beare thys his pride: what can we hope for at hys handes: seyng we muste eyther dye, as innocētes, or els that is worse thē wrath, liue & remaine in bondage as slaues. He is greatlye in my debte, if by this he coulde amende, for he may learne of me, the thynge that free hartes cannot endure

dure. Spare thē whose age shalbe sufficiently tourmented with the losse of their children, but vpon vs cau se execution to be done, to thyntent we may obtayne by our owne death, the lyberty we sought for by his. when Harmolaus had spokē these wordes, the king then aunswered after this maner: How false these thynges be which he hath learned of hys instructour, my pacience doth declare. For notwithstandinge he before confessed this treason, yet my mynde was ye shuld heare what he could say: knowyng verye well that when I gaue lybertie to thys chicke to speake, that he would vse the same rage and furye in his talke, whiche before moued him to haue kylled me, whome he ought to haue loued as hys father. Of late when that in huntynge he vsed a greate presumption, I commaunded, hym to be chastised after the custome of our countrey vsed by the kinges of Macedon. whiche chastisemēt we must graūt nedefull to be done, lyke as the puppyles bee accustomed of their tutors, the wyfes of their husbādes, and seruauntes of their maisters. This was all the crueltie I vsed towardes hym, which he would haue reuengyd with murther, and treason. But gentle I am to all persones, that suffre me vse myne owne disposicion, synce you youre selfe done knowe, it were superfluous for me to reherse. I can not marueil at all, though punyshmente of traytours be displesaunt to Harmolaus, synce he him selfe is in the same case, for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for hys owne purpose. I pardonyd Lyncestes Alexander. whiche was accused by two witnesses, that he twise conspired treason against me, and agayne conuicted, yet deferryd

I

This punishment two yeares, tyll you your selues required he might haue his deseruing. Towchig Attalus, ye remembre very well howe he wrought treason agaynst me before I was kyng. And for Clytus I wold god he had not moued me to yre, whose rash tounge speaking the rebuke and shame bothe of me and you, I suffred lenger then he would haue done me, speaking the lyke. The clemencye of the kynges and princes consisteth not only in their owne dispositions, but in such as be vnder their subiection. For the rigour of such as be rulers, is mitigatid with humanitie. But when mens mindes bevoyde of reuerence & high & lowe be confounded as alike, the force is necessary to repulse violence. But why do I marueyle, that he layed cruelty to my charge, that durst obiect towardes me couetousnes. I wyl not cal you to witnes one by one, lest I should vpraide you with liberalitie, by making declaracio what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold the whole multitud, which a litle while ago had no thing els but their bare armour, doe they not lye in syluer beddes: be not their tables charged with plate, and possesse the not whole flockes of slaues: They are not able to sustayne the spoyles of ther enemies. But it is sayd the Persias be honoured of me whom We haue conquered. Truly they be so and yet, what greater proufe cã there be of my moderacion, then that I do not reigne proudely ouer suche as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vtterli to subuert the nacios, nor to make the one half of the world desert, but to geue the cõquerid cause not to repent them of our victory. This is the occasion they gladlye fyghte for you, and for youre kingdome spẽd their bloud: Which if they wer proudly vsed, would streight rebel against you. The possession

Fiyomn' vo mytigated, vel Enimitibi.

Moderation

That possession is not durable that is gotten with violence.

sion is not durable Whiche is possessyd by violence, but the thankes of gentlenes receiued, endureth euer lastingly. If We purpose to enioye Asia, and not to make a progresse through it, We muste make thē partakers of our clemency, & thē their fidelitie shal make our empire stable and perpetuall. And truly We haue nowe more then we can well wyshe or desire. Couetousnes is an vnsaciable thyng, specially when men desire to kill the vessell that ronneth ouer. But ye wil say that I myxe and bryng their customes emonges ours: It is so, and Why: because I see in diuers nacions right many thinges Whiche We nede not be ashamed to folow. And so greate an Empire as We haue gotten cannot other Wyse be aptly gouernyd, except We deliuer some thyngs to thē, and receiue likewyse some thinges agayn. One thyng is to be laught at, that I should refuse Iupiter for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle: as who sayth, the answere of the gods were in my power. he proffered ȳ name of his sōne vnto me, whych was not a thyng vnmete for the thing we purposed. I woulde wyshe ȳ the Indiās beleaued me to be a god, for ȳ successe in warre standeth much by fame, and ȳ which is faulsely beleaued, sōtime worketh the effect of thing true. Do you note me geuē to excesse & prodigalite, because I guarnished your armour wt gold and siluer? My purpose was to shewe to men accustumed with suche thynges nothing to be more vile then such kynd of metal, & to declare that the Macedōs inuincible in other things, could not be ouercome with gold it self. After this maner I shal blid the eyes of ȳ barbaros which are wōt at the first sight to wōder at thinges, be thei neuer so base & vile. And in ȳ we shewe to make no estimatiō of it, we

A fonde and false delusion and no true excuse.

ſhal declare to al men that We are not come for deſire of gold nor ſiluer, but to ſubdue the hole World. Frō Which glory (thou traitour, thou Woldeſt haue bereaued me, and betraied the Macedōs (I being ſlayne) to the barbarous nacions. I am exhorted, to ſpare your parentes. It is nedeful I ſhould make him priuye What I haue determyned of them: no I wyll not: and to that intent he might dye wyth the greater dolour, yf he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago ſins I did forbo the cuſtume of puttynge thinnocent parentes and kinſfolkes of traytours to death wt the offenders. And I now profeſſe to pardō & haue thē al in the ſame eſtymacion I had before. I knowe Why thou Wouldeſt haue thy maiſter Caliſtenes brought furth, Which only eſteymed the being of his ſonne, bicauſe thou deſireſt to heare pronoūced of mouth, thoſe rayling wordes, which euen now ỹ diddeſt ſpyt out agaynſt me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him in to the place With the: a worthy mayſter for ſuch a dyſcypple. But being borne in another coūtrey, he is ſubiect to an other law. Whē he had ſpokē theſe Wordes, he diſmiſſed the coūſail, & commaunded al ſuche as Were condēpnyd, to be deliuered to the ſouldiours of their owne bādes. Who becauſe they woulde declare by ſome cruelty, the loue they bare to Wardes their prince, ſlew theim al by tormentes. Caliſtenes alſo died vpon the racke, innocēt of the conſpiracy againſt the kinges perſō, but a mā not pliable to the cuſtome of the courte, & abhorring from the diſpoſition of flatterers. There was neuer thynge that brought the Greakes in greater indignatiō againſt Alexander, then that he not onely kylled, but cauſed to be tormented to death, & that withoute iudge-

forbe.

Caliſtenes innocent of treaſon, yet not pliable to the cuſtome of the courte, but a diſpiſer of flatterers. Wherfore kynges were ranke of such deuises.

iudgement, a man endued with godly maners and good sciences, by whom he was perswadid to lyue when he purposed to haue died for sorow that he had slayne Clitus: which his cruelty, repentaunce followed that came to late. But least he might nourishe idlenes, apte for sowyng of sedicious rumours, he marched toward India alwaies more glorious in warre then after his victorye. The whole countrey of India lieth chiefely towardes the East, cõteyning more in length, then it doth in breadthe. The Northe partes be ful of mounteines and hilles, but all the rest of the land is plaine, hauinge many faire riuers, which runninge out of the mount Caucasus, do passe pleasauntly through the countrey. Indus is more colde then eny of the other riuers, whose water is not vnlike the coulour of the sea. But of al the riuers in ỹ orient, Ganges is most excellent, which runninge frõ the south passeth directly through many great moũtaines, vntil that by the encountringe of rockes, hys course is turned towarde the east, where it is receiued into the red sea, the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, ſwalowing in trees, & much of the grounde. In many places the streame is kept in with rockes, wherupon it beateth. But where the grounde is more softe, there the riuer becommeth more larger. & maketh many Flandes. The greatenes of Ganges is much encreasid by Aceſines which mete before they enter into the sea, at their meetyng, the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others enter, neither of them seame to geue place to other. Diardenes is a riuer of the lesse fame, bycause it runneth in the vttermost boundes of India, but yet it bryngeth forth Crocadyles as the Nyle doth, & also Delphines, with monsters vnknowen

The discription of India.

Indus.

Ganges.

Weetynes.

Diardenes

to other nacions. Croked Erymanthus With hys many turnynges and reflexions is consumed by the inhabitours With Wateryng their grounde which is the cause that When it drawethe nere the sea, it becometh very lytle, and beareth no name. Ther be many other riuers that do deuide the countrey, but none of them be so famous as theise, because they do not run so farre. The northe Wynde doth blaste and harme most those partes that be next vnto the sea But those Wyndes be so broken wyth the toppes of the mountaynes, that they can not endōage the inWarde partes of the cuntrey, Wherfore fruites be verye plentyfull there and perfite. But that region doth differ so muche for thordinarye course of tyme in other partes of the World, that When other coūtries be burnid most With the sunne, India is couerid ouer Wyth sno W. And When other places be frosen, the heate is ther most intollerable and yet there appeare not eny naturall cause why it should be so. The couler of the Indian sea not differing much from the water of other seas, did take his name of kyng Erithrus, wherof the ignorauūte toke opiniō ỹ water of those seas ỹ was redde. The land is very haboūdāt of flaxe, wherof the more parte of their garmentes be made. The twygges of the trees be so tender, that they receyue the print of letters like waxe. The byrdes by teaching coūterfeyt mēs voyce. There be many beastes which are not bredde, emonges other nacions. Rhynocerytis, be there brought furth, but not bredde. The Elyphantes of that countrey be stronger then those ỹ be made tame in Affrike, and their bignes do aunswere vnto their strength. The Water of the riuers do carye downe gold, & romne mildly Without eny great fall.

Erimanthus.

The

The Sea doth cast vpon the shore bothe perles and precious stones, whereof procedid the cause of their great riches, after there marchādise was once knowē to other nacions: the purginges of the seas being thē esteamed, as mans fansy would make the price. The disposicions of the men (as in al other places) be according to the sytuacion of the countreys they dwell in. They make there garmentes of lynnen cloth, Whych couer their bodyes downe to there feete. They bynde sooles vnder their feete, and wrappe roules of linnen aboute ther heades. Such as be in eny degre ether of nobilytie, or ryches, haue precious stones hanging at there eares, and couer all there armes wyth braslettes and ornamentes of gould. They vse great curiosity in kemmyng of there heades, Whyche they round very seldome. They shaue Without eny forme of graunte, all partes of there face sauyng their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes (Whyche they cal magnyficēce) vsed by thē, doth excede the vyces of al nacions. When there wil is to be sene abrode, their seruantes cary about thē perfuming paunes of syluer, & syl al the waies Where they go with sweate sauoures, they thē selues be borne in litters of golde hāging full of pearles, & the garmentes they were be of golde and purple enpaled together. The armed men folow their litter, and such as be of their garde, emōg Whō there be birdes borne vpō boughes, Whych they haue taught alwayes to singe, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the kynges palayce there be pillers of golde carued aboute Wyth Vynes of golde, wherin the images of those byrdes they delight moste in, be artificially wrought. The courte is open to all commers, When the kynges do kembe and dresse

The volup tuousnes and excesse in the kinges of India.

their headdes, thē thei vse to geue aunswere to the ambassadours, and to doe Justice vnto their people. When their soles bee taken of, their feete bee anounted with swete odours. The greatest trauaile thei take, is when thei hunte wilde beastes enclosed in Parkes, whiche thei strike whiles their Concubines bee singing and daliyng with them. The arrowes that thei shote, be of twoo cubites longe, whiche dooe not the effecte of the force thei bee shotte withall, by reason of their weyght, whiche is an impediment to their swiftenes, wherein the propertie of the arrowe chiefly consisteth. In small iourneis thei vse to ride on horsebacke, but when thei haue to trauaile ferther, thei bee caried vpon Elephantes, whose huge bodies bee couered al ouer with golde. And because no vice shoulde wante emonges their corrupte maners, great rowtes of concubines doe folowe them in golden litters: The Quenes haue their bandes seperate by them selues, whiche in all excesse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto the kinges. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, and thei also serue men of wine, whereof there is greate plentie emonges the Indians. When the king hath largelie dronke, and is fallen in a sleape, his Concubines vse to carie him into his chamber, calling vpon their Goddes, with a songe after their countrie maner. Who woulde thinke that emonges al these vices, there were any regarde hadde of vertue? There is emonges them a rude and an vnciuil kinde of people, whom thei cal wise men, whiche counte it the moste glorious thing to preuente their awne deathe, and thei vse to burne them selues whiles thei bee a liue. It is imputed for a great shame to suche as either can not wel stere for age, or haue not their perfeict health, if thei prolong their life till their

The wise men of Indie.

natural death approche. Nor there is no honour geuen to those bodies that die for age. Thei thinke the fiers be defiled, if the bodies be not aliue that be burned in them Suche as liue in Cities after a Ciuill maner, attaine to the moste apt knowelege of the starres mouing, and of the Prophecyng of thinges to come. Nor thei can not thinke that any man doth shorten his life, that loketh for death without feare. Thei esteme those for goddes whom thei beginne once to worshippe, and speciallie trees, the violating of the whiche, thei forbidde vnder peine of death. Thei counte after fiftie dates to the Moneth, and notwithstanding limitte their yeres, as thei dooe in other places. Thei note not their tunes by suche course of the Moone, as is cõmunlie vsed, that is from the full Moone, but frõ the first quarter when she beginneth first horned, & by countiug after thesame maner, make them the shorter. There bee many other thinges reported of thẽ, with the whiche I thought not necessarie to interrupt ỹ order of this historie. As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the countrie came vnto him, submitting them selues, and declaring that he was the thirde man that euer came emonges thẽ, being begotten of Iupiter. Thei saied that Hercules & Bacchus was not knowen to them, but onely by fame, but thei reioised that thei might beholde him presentlie with their eies. Alexander receiued thẽ with all gentlenesse he coulde deuise, & willed them to accompanie him, because he woulde vse them, as guides in his iourneie. But when he sawe that the whole nũbre came not, he sent Ephestion, & Perdicas with parte of his armeie before, to subdue suche as woulde not submit thẽ selues, and willed them to goe forwardes till thei came to the riuer of Indus, & there to make boates, wherby

he

he might transpozt his armeie. And because thei had to passe many riuers, the boates were so deuised, that thei might be taken a sounder to be caried in cartes, and afterwardes ioigned again together. He appointed Craterus to folowe him with the Phalanx, & he with suche hozsemen and footemen that were light armed wente befoze, and being encountred in his waie, fought a smal battaill, and did dziue his enemies into the nexte Citie. When Craterus was come, to thintent he might strike terrour emonges those people that hadde not yet pzoued the Macedones fozce, commaunded that when thei wanne the Citie, thei shoulde kill bothe man, woman, and childe, & burne thesame to the harde gounde. But whiles he ridde about the walles, he was striken with an arrowe. Notwithstanding the citie was wonne, and all put to the swerde: the very houses not escaping the victozious crueltie. After this he subdued an obscure nacion, and came to a citie called Nysa. It chaũced that whiles thei encamped in a woodde befoze the citie, there fell a colde in the night, that moze afflicted the Macedones, then euer it had doen befoze any other place. Against the whiche thei pzepared the remedy that was next at hande, and cut doune the woodde to make them great fires. The flame whereof caught the sepulchzes belonging to the citie, whiche by reason thei were made of Cedze, were sone set on fire, and neuer lefte burning till thei were all consumed. That fire made bothe alarum to the Citie, and to the Campe: foz thereby the Citizens iudged that their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedones perceiued by the barking of the dogges, and noise of menne, that the Indians woulde salie out vpon them. Wherefoze Alexander issuing out of his campe in ozdze of battail shewe

Phalanx

The citie of Nysa.

ſuche of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon thei within the citie became of diuerſe opinions, ſome were minded to yelde, and other thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderſtode of their diuiſion, he cauſed his menne to abſteine from ſlaughter, and onely to mainteine the ſiege. At length thei were ſo wearied with the diſcommodities of the warre, that thei yelded thē ſelues. Thei affirmed their oziginall to come of Bacchus, who in deede builded their citie at the fote of a mountaine called Meroe. The qualitie of whiche mountaine being repozted to Alexander by thinhabiters, he ſent victuales befoze, & paſſed thether with his whole armie, encamping vpon the toppe thereof. The mountaine grewe full of Uines and Iuie, abounding with ſpzinges that flowed out in euery place. Theſame was alſo plentifull of many kindes of apples of moſte pleaſaunt taſte, the grounde alſo bzought foozth cozne without any cultiuacion. There grewe alſo plentie of Laurel trees with many kindes of wilde fruicte. I can not impute it to any mocion of Religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnes, that cauſed thē to repaire thether, where of the Iuie and the vine leaues thei made thē ſelues garlandes, and ran vp and doune after a diſſolute maner, all the holowes and valeies there about rebounding with the voice of ſo many thouſandes, calling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate. Whiche licence & libertie begon of a fewe was ſpzeade ſo ſodeinlie thzough out the whole armie, that the ſouldiours ſcattred abzoade without ozdze, laie here & there repoſing thē ſelues vpon the graſſe and leaues that thei had gathered together, as it had been in a time of quiet and moſte aſſured peace. Whiche licencioulneſſe of the ſouldiers riſing by chaunce, Alexander did not withſtande

The mount Meroe.

stand, but ten daies together made feastes to Bacchus, during which time he plentifullie banqueted his whole armeie. Who can therefore deme but that greatnesse of fame and glorie, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue? for their enemies hadde no harte to set vpon them, whiles thei were drowned in this excesse of banketting, dronkenship, and drowsenes, but were as muche afraied of their dronken noise, as if thei had harde their crie encountring with them in battail. Which felicitie preseruing them here, did afterwardes defende them after thesame maner in the middes of their enemies, retourning as it were in triumphe from the Oceane Sea, when thei were geuen all to festing and to dronkenesse. When Alexander descended from the mountaine, he went to a countrie called Dedala, whiche thinhabiters forsoke and fled to the wooddes and the wilde mountaines, and therefore he passed frō thens into Achadera, whiche he founde bothe burned and abandoned like wise of thinhabiters, whereby of necessitie he was compelled to vse the warre after an other maner. For he diuided his armeie into diuerse partes and shewed his powre in many places at ones. By whiche meanes he oppressed thē before thei coulde prouide, and subdued thē to their vtter ruine. Ptolomeus toke moste Cities, but Alexander wanne the greatest and afterwardes ioigned againe his armeie together, whiche he hadde thus diuided. That doen he went forwardes and passed a riuer called Coaspe, where he left Cenon to besiege a riche citie called Bezira, and he himselfe went to Amazaga, where Assacanus being dead hadde lefte the dominion both of the Countrie and the Citie to his mother Cleophes. There were .xxx. thousande fotemen to defende that Citie, whiche both was well

The greatnesse of fame and glorie, is not alwaies the reward of vertue.

Dedala.

Achadera.

Coaspe.

Bezira.

Amazaga.

Quene Cleophes.

well fortified and stronge of situacion, being enclosed vpon the Easte with a swifte riuer, hauing stepe bankes defending the Citie, that it coulde not bee approched on that side. Upon the South and the Weste partes nature (as it were for the nonce) had planted highe rockes lying betwixte them, and depe holowes and pittes made of olde antiquitie: whereas the rockes ceassed, there beganne a dike of a wounderful depth and wideneſſe. The wal wherewith the citie was enclosed, was xxv. furlonges in compaſſe, whereof the nether partes were builded of stone, and the vpper partes of claie. Yet stones were mixed with the claie, to thintent that the fraile substaunce clinging to the harder, the one shoulde binde the other. And leaſt the earth washed vpon with the raine might fall altogether, there were stanchinges of timbre putte betwixte to staie the whole worke: Whiche couered ouer with bordes was a waie for men to goe vpon.

Alexander beholding this kinde of fortificacion was vncertaine what to doe. For he sawe he coulde not approche to the walles, but by filling of those dikes, and holowe places. And that he could not otherwise fil thē, then by making of a mount, whiche was the onely waie he had to bring his engines to the walles. But whiles he was vieuying the Toune after that maner, he was striken from the wall with an arrowe in the thighe. Whiche he pulled oute, and without wrapping of his wounde called for his horse, and letted not for his hurt to giue ordre for suche thinges as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his legge, the bloud drue from the wounde and wared colde, whereby his hurte beganne to paine him, he then saied: That he was called the Sonne of Iuppiter, but yet he felte in him

himselfe the passions of a diseased bodie. Notwithstanding he woulde not returne into the campe, before he hadde vieued all thinges that were necessarie, and appointed all thinges he woulde haue doen. After that the souldiours had receiued their appointemēt, by pluckīg downe of houses without the Toune, thei gotte great plentie of stuffe to make the mount withall. And by casting stockes of trees on heapes into the dikes and holowe places, the mount within nine daies was raised vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towres were plāted vpon thesame: suche was the labour, and diligence the souldiours vsed in the matier.

Alexander, ast ens sunt zoroy = medē sun ast, to be a man & not a god.

The king before his wounde was closed vp went to see how the workes went forwarde, and when he perceiued them in suche case, commended the Souldiours for their diligence, and caused thinges to bee brought to the walles, out of the whiche thei that defended the walles were sore afflicted with shotte. And by reason thei had not seen any suche kinde of worke before, were wonderfullie amased, speciallie when thei behelde the towres of suche bignesse come forwardes, & yet coulde not perceiue by what meanes thei were moued: iudged those thinges to bee doen by the powre of the Goddes. And besides thei coulde not thinke it a matier of mans inuencion, that so great dartes and speares, as came emonges them, shoulde be shotte by engines: dispairing therefore of the defence of their Citie, thei retired into the Castle. And because thei coulde not be satisfied any maner of waie till thei had yelded them selues, thei sent Embassadours to the king to aske pardō. Whiche thing obteined at his hande, the Quene with a great traine of noble women came foorth, bearing in their handes cuppes of Golde full of wine. Who presenting her litle

some, before the Kinges feete, not onely obteined pardone but also restorement of her former dignitie. Wherfore some thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercie. But this is certaine that the childe, whiche afterwardes she brought furth (whosoeuer did beget it) was called Alexander. Frō this place Policarpon was sent with a power vnto a Citie called Oza, where he ouerthrewe in battail thinhabiters that encountred with him, whereby he gotte the Citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by thabandoning of thinhabiters, whiche assembled them selues togither in armeie & kept a rocke called Aornum. The fame was that Hercules had besieged thesame before time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to departe. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & sawe howe stepe it was and vnpassable, became voide of counsail till suche time as an olde man that knewe wel the place came to him with his two sonnes, offring for a rewarde to guide his men awaie vp to the toppe.

The rocke called Aornum.

Alexander promised them .iiii. score talentes, and keping one of his sonnes as pledge, sente him to performe that he hadde promised. Mulinus the Kinges Secretarie was appointed with certaine souldiours light armed to folowe the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compasse aboute the rocke. But thesame rocke was not, as the more parte bee, whiche lying aslope hath waies vp vnto the toppe by degrees. For it stode bolte vpright after the fashion of a but, broade beneth, and euer as it grewe vpwarde, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe. And it was enclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing highe and stepe bankes, and vpon the other

side

ſide with deepe dikes and holowe places, full of water and mudde. Wherefore there coulde be deuiſed no waie to winne it, excepte thoſe dikes were firſt filled. There was a woodde at hande whiche the king commaunded to bee cut doune, and cauſing the boowes to be chzed of for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare ſtockes. Alexander bare the firſt tree, and all the ſouldiers folowed after with a couragious chout, for there was no man that woulde refuſe to dooe that thei ſawe the king beginne: So that within. vii. daies the dikes and hollowe places were filled vp. Then the king appointed the Agrians, and the archers to goe to the aſſaulte and did chooſe. xxx. yong men of ſuche as he iudged moſt apt for the purpoſe out of his owne bande, appointing Charus and one Alexander to be their conducters, and exhorted Alexander that the remembzaũce of his name might make him hardie. At the firſt becauſe the haſard was ſo manifeſt, the king was not determined to aduentur his owne perſone. But when the trompet blewe to thaſſault, he was of ſuche a readie courage that he coulde not abſteine, but making a ſigne to his guarde & y thei ſhoulde folowe him, was the firſt that ſet foote vpon the rocke. Then there were fewe contented to tarie behinde, but many lefte their arraie where as thei ſtode in order of battail, and folowed the king. The chaunſe of many was miſerable whom the running riuer ſwalowed in, when thei fell downe from the rocke. Whiche ſight was ſorowful to ſuche as were out of daunger, being admoniſhed by the peril of other, what thei ought to feare them ſelfes, hereupon their compaſſion being tourned into feare, lamented aſwell them ſelues, as thoſe whom thei ſawe die before their faces. At length thei went ſo farre furth, that without the getting of

Charus & Alexander.

the

the Rocke thei coulde not retire backe againe without their greate destruction. For their enemies rowled downe greate stones vpon theim, wherewith thei were easelie beaten downe, by reason the Rocke hadde so slippar and vnstable standing. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, whiche were appointed the leading of the thirtie chosen souldiours, hadde gotten to the toppe, and beganne to fighte hande to hande. But there were so many Dartes caste at theim from a farre, that thei receiued no woundes, then thei coulde geue. Wherefore Alexander bothe mindefull of his name, and of his promise, whiles he foughte more egrelie then warelie, was enclosed aboute, and slaine. Whom when Charus sawe dead, he ranne vpon his enemies, and vnmindefull of all thinges, sauing of reuenge, slue many with his pike and diuerse with his sworde. But being laied at by so many at ones, he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of his frende. The death of these twoo so hardie younge menne, and of the reste, moued Alexander greatlie, yet perceiuing no remedie in the matter, caused the retreicte to bee sounded. It was greatlie for their sauegarde, that thei retired by litle and litle without apperaunce of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulsed their enemies, pursued not after theim. Alexander hereupon was determined to leaue of his purpose, seing he sawe no hope how to winne the rocke, yet he made a countenaūce as though he mente to continue the siege still. For bothe he caused the waies to bee closed vp, and made an approche with towers of woodde, alwaies putting freshe menne in place of theim that were wearied. When the Indians perceiued Alexanders obstinacie, twoo daies and twoo nightes thei banquetted continuallie, and plaied vpon

tumbrelles

timbzelles after their maner, to cause their enemies thinke that thei had no doubte in the siege, but trusted surlie to pzeuail. The third night the noise of their timbzelles ceassed, and many tozches were seen burning, whiche the Indians hadde lighted to see whiche waie thei mighte escape downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexander sente Balacrus to discouer the matier, who founde that the Indians were fledde, and that the Rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was geuen that the whole armeie shoulde geue a showte together, whereby thei did strike suche feare emonges their enemies fliyng withoute ozdze, that many of theim thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the Rockes and slewe theimselues, whereof some maimed in their falling were left behinde by their fellowes that fled awaie. Thus the king being victozour of the place, rather then of the menne, testified notwithstanding with solempne sacrifices vnto the Godes a greatnesse of victozie, and set vp Alters vpon the Rocke to Minerua and Victozia.

Balacrus. Abandoned.

And though the guides that he appointed to his light armed men, perfozmed not so muche as thei pzomised, yet their rewarde was truly geuen them. And the rule of the rocke with the coũtrie there aboutes was cõmitted to Sysocostus, he himselfe going fozwardes with his armeie frõ thens to Echolyma. But vnderstãding that certaine streightes thzough the whiche he shoulde passe, were kepte by one Erix with twentie thousande armed menne: He committed that parte of his armeie that were heauie armed to Cenon to be bzought on by softe iozneies, and going befoze in person with the slingers and Archers, putte his enemies to flight, making the waie cleare foz his armeie to passe that folowed after. The Indians, whether it were foz the hatred thei bare

Sisocostus. Echolima. Erix.

bare vnto their Capiteine, or els for to get the fauour of the victor, killed Erix as he fled awaie, & brought his head, and his armoure vnto Alexander. He conside-
Alexander did neuer reward good seruice done vnto him.
ring the fowlenesse of the acte, woulde not honoure the doers for thensample sake, nor punishe thē because thei serued his purpose. From thens by .xvi. remoun-ges he came to that parte of the riuer of Indus, where Ephestion hadde prepared all thinges in suche sorte as he hadde commission. One Omphis was king of that countrie, whiche before had persuaded his father to submit him selfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatlie vpon his fathers death sent Embassadours vnto him to knowe his pleasure, whether he shoulde take vpon him as a king before his comming, or els liue priua-telie in the meane season. And although it was per-mitted him to gouerne as a king, yet he woulde not vse the auctoritie that was graunted him. He had cau-sed Ephestion to be receiued in the beste sorte he coulde deuise, but notwithstanding hadde not visited him, be cause he woulde not commit his persone to any mans fidelitie but to the kinges. When he vnderstode of Alex-anders comming, he wente towardes him with his whole power. Whose Elephantes by small distaunces mixed in battail emonges his footemen, shewed afarre of, like Castelles. At the firste Alexander did not take him as a frende, but as an enemie, and therefore set his men in ordre of battail, and his horsemen in winges in redimes for to fight. When Omphis vnderstode the er-rour of the Macedons, he commaunded his menne to staie, and putting his spores to his horse, ridde forwar-des alone. Alexander did the like putting no doubt whe-ther he were a frende or an enemie, but thought him selfe sure, either through his owne manhode, or the-

Omphis one of the kinges of India.

others

others fidelitie. Their meting as it appeared by their countenaunces was very frendlie, but for want of an interpretour, thei coulde not speake togithers. Therefore after thei hadde called one vnto them, the Indian king declared vnto Alexander: that the cause he mette him with an armie, was to put immediatlie his whole power into his handes, and had not (he saied) taried to treate for any assuraūce by messengers, but vpon trust onely, had committed both his persone & his kingdome to him, whom he knew to make warre for the winning of glorie and fame, and therefore coulde not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioised to see his simplicitie, and profered him his righthande as pledge of his promise, and restored to him againe his kingdome. He presented vnto Alexander. Ibi. Elephantes with many other beastes of exceading greatnes and .iii. thousande bulles, whiche is a cattell of great value in those countries, and muche estemed of kinges. Alexander enquired of him whither he hadde vnder his dominion more souldiours, or tillers of the grounde. He aunswered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue more souldiours, because he was at warre with twoo kinges, whose kingdomes laie beyonde ꝑ riuer of Hydaspis. There names were Abyssares, and Porus, but the auctoritie remained in Porus. And saied that he was prepared, and resolued to aduenture the hasarde of the battaill with suche of them, as shoulde inuade him first. Hereupon Alexander graunted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon him the Diademe and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of the countrie being suche, that the name euer folowed the kingdome whosoeuer enioied it. When he hadde receiued Alexander honourablie in hospitalitie thre daies, the fourth daie declaring

claring how muche corne he had deliuered to Ephestion and to his armeie, presented to the king and to all his frendes crownes of golde, and besides of coigned siluer lxxx. talentes. Alexander reioised so muche in his good will, that he bothe retourned againe to him his giftes, and gaue him besides a thousande Talentes of the spoile, he brought with him, with muche Plate of golde and Siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and .xxx. of his awne horses with thesame furnimentes thei ware, when he did ride vpon them. Whiche liberalitie as it bounde Omphis, so it greatlie offended the mindes of the Macedones. For Meleager at Supper when he hadde well dronke: saied he was very glad that Alexander hadde yet founde one in India whom he iudged worthie to receiue the gifte of a thousande talentes. The king bearing in minde, how muche he hadde repented the slaiyng of Clytus for the rashenes of his toungue, refrained his anger, but yet tolde him: That enuious menne, were euer tormentours to them selues. The next daie the Embassadours of king Abyasares came vnto Alexander, who according to their commission offred al thinges vnto his wil. Whereupon promise and assuraunce being confirmed, thei retourned againe to their Master. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatnesse of his name, Porus might be brought to doe the like, sent Cleochares to him for to demaunde tribute, and to sūmone him to come and make his homage, when he shoulde entre the boundes of his kingdome. Porus made aunswere that of those two requestes he woulde performe one, whiche was to mete him at the entrie of his kingdome, but that shoulde be in armes & with a power. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the riuer of Hidaspes, Barzentes

Emmons men, were tormentours of them selues.

king Abyasares.

king Porus

zentes that had been aucthour of the rebellió emonges the Arachosians, was take and brought to him bounde with .xxx. Elephantes: an apte assistaunce against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes then in the force of their awne nacion. Gamarus king of a smal porcion of India, whiche had cõfederated with Barzentes, was brought likewise bounde vnto him. Wherefore committing them bothe to prison & the Elephãtes to Omphis, came vnto ỹ riuer of Hidaspes. But Porus laie in campe on the ferther side to let his passage, hauing .iiii. score. v. Elephãtes of huge strength of bodie. CCC. wagons of warre, and .xxx. M. fotemen, emonges whom there were many archers, whose shaftes (as hath been saied before) were more heute thẽ thei coulde wel welde. Porus himselfe did ride vpõ an Elephant greater then all the rest, who also being of a big stature, appeared notable in his armour that was garnished with golde & siluer, hauing also a courage equall to the strength of his bodie and so great a wisedome as was possible to be founde emonges suche rude nacions

Barzentes.

Gamarus.

The Macedones were not so muche afraied with the sight of their enemies, as thei were with the greatnesse of the Riuer that thei hadde to passe, whiche being foure furlonges in breadeth, and so deepe that no forde coulde bee founde, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mitigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse furie then if it had ben narrowe, appearing by the repercussiõ of the water in many places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This riuer being sufficient to feare them of it selfe, the sighte of the ferther banke full of horse and men, was an encrease of their terrour. Where the Elephantes that had bodies of vnreasonable greatenesse stode in their sighte, being prouoked to braie of purpose

The riuer of Hydaspis.

Description

purpose, to thintent that with their terrible noise, thei should fil their enemies eares ful of feare. Though the Macedones were courageous and had their hartes ful of good hope, as thei whiche often times had had experience of their owne actes: Yet their enemies, and the riuer bothe together made them wonderfullie amased. for thei coulde not thinke how to kepe a stedfast course to the ferther shore in so weake and tottring boates, nor when thei were there, coulde see how to arriue with suretie. There were many Ilandes in the mides of the riuer, into the whiche both the Indians and the Macedones did swimme, holding their weapons aboue their headdes), there thei skirmished together in the sight of bothe kinges, whiche by experimente of suche small thinges, made triall of the successe of the whole. But emonges al the Macedons there were two noble yong men called Symachus and Nicanor excelling in boldnesse & in desperat attẽptes. whiche through their continuall good fortune had gotten a courage to despise al peril. Other young men of the moste hardiest toke them for their Captaines, and without any other armour (sauing their pikes) swome ouer into an Ilande being full of their enemies, where through boldenesse onely thei slewe many of them, and so might haue returned with glorie, if rashnesse. where it fundeth prosperous successe, coulde euer bee content with measure. But whiles with skorne and pride thei taried for their enemies, thei were sodeinlie enclosed of suche as priuelie swome ouer the riuer, & were killed with dartes whiche thei cast at them from afarre. Suche as in this case escaped their enemies, were either drowned with the violẽce of the water, or the eddies of ỹ streame: This fight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all their

Symachus Nycanor.

doinges

dooinges from the ferther shore. And though Alexander was long vncerteine what waie to take, yeat at length he deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Iland in the riuer greater then the rest, and apte to hide his deuise, by reason it was ful of woodde, and hadde a great rampiere cast vpon that banke, that was towardes his enemies: There bothe his footmen, and horsemen might stande couered from the sighte of Thindiens: and the rather to tourne their yies another waie from the spying out of that opportunitie, he caused Ptolomeus with a great nũbre of his horsmen to shew themselues against their enemies farre of from the Iland, and to put the Indiens in feare of their crie, making euer a shewe as though thei woulde swimme ouer the riuer. Whiche thing Ptolomeus didde many daies cõtinually together, to thentent that Porus should be eforced to remoue his powre to that part to withstand him, and by that meanes brought them out of the sight of the Iland. Alexander also caused his owne pauilion to be set vpon the riuers side ouer againste his enemies, & all the pompe that perteined to the state of a king to be set foorth within their viewe, with thesame bande standing in sight, whiche was wont to remaine about his persone. Furthermore Attalus that was equall with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and personage, stode there openly appareiled like a king that it might appere to Porus, that Alexander was stil remaining there, and went not about to passe the Riuer. The execution of this deuise was firste letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effecte: fortune euer vsed to tourne her discommodities, into good successe towardes him. For when thenemies were thus attente to obserue Ptolo-

The policie Alexander vsed in passing of Hydaspis.

Bb.i. me-

meus that laie beneth vpon the riuer against theim.

And Alexander with the rest of the armie busie aboute the passing of his menne into the Ilande before mencioned: There fell sodeinlie a great storme scarcelie tollerable to soche as laie within their cabbaines, whiche so moche afflicted the Souldiours abrode, that thei forsoke their boates, and fled again to lande. And yeat for al this, their clamour, and their noise was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the shoure. As this tempest began sodeinlie, so it sodeinly ceassed, but the Cloudes remained so darke, that there appered not so moche lighte, as the Souldiours might know one another by the face, whē thei spake together. Whiche darkenesse might haue feared some other man, considering thei hadde to rowe in a Riuer that thei knewe not, their enemies (paraduenture) waiting for theim at their landing, whether thei went as blind men that for glorie sought for perill. But Alexander vsed that thing, that put other men in terror, to serue for his purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon o signe geuē) should entre into their botes with silence: his bote was the first that launched from the shore, towardes the further side that was voide of his enemies, Porus onely keping his watche against Ptolomeus. There was but one boate that stacke fast by the waie vpon a rocke, & al thother recouered the lande. Alexāder then cōmaūded the souldiours to prepare their armour, & fal into araie: And whilest he was diuiding his men to put thē in order of battail marching towarde his enemies, it was reported to Porus, that a great nūbre of men of Warre were come ouer the Riuer, and landed, whiche woulde streight waies geue him the battail. But he at the first (according to the fault that is mannes nature) throughthe

The battail betwixt Porus, & Alexander.

the ouermoche confidence that he had in him selfe) beleued not the matter, but thought that Abiazares whiche was confederate with hym, had come in his assistaunce yeat when the daie appeared, and the matter was manifest. Pozus then put fozth. C. armed wagons and. iiii M. hozsemen, vnder the leading of Hages his bzother, to kepe Alexander doing. Thei counted those wagones their pzincipalle fozce, foz euery one of theim caried sixe men. ii. Archers, two with targettes, and. ii. that ruled the hozses, whiche wer not vnarmed, but when it came to the fight, thei let their reines lose, and bestowed their dartes emong their enemies. But thyse of those Wagons serued that daie to small purpose, foz the showze that had fallen moze violentlie then was accustomed, had made the fieldes so wet, and slabbie, that the Wagons could not stirre, but stacke in the mire, and became immoueable: Wheras Alexander being without baggage, oz any thing that might bee an impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Sithians, and the Dahans were the first that gaue theonset, and Pardicas was appointed with the Hozsemenne to charge vpon the right hande battaile of the Indians, then the battailes beginning to ioigne in al partes, thei that had the charge of the wagons counting thē the last refuge, slacked their raines, and rusched fozwardes into the middest of the fighte. The comming of these Wagons appeared to be a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to bothe parties. Foz at the first bzunt bothe the Macedōs were bozne ouer, and ouerthzowen by theim, and when the Wagons came in any rowghe, oz mirie places, the Indians were thzowen out of them. Foz when the hozses that dzue theim were ones galled, and put in feare, thei caried the wagons without gouernment, and tum-

Assistance

Hages Pozus brother

Slabbie

Immoueable.

Galled.

bled parte in the mire and part in the riuer. A fewe trauerſed the feldes, and fled for ſuccour vnto Porus, who ſeing his wagons ſcatred ouer all the fieldes, and wãder about without their rulers, diſtributed the charge of his Elephantes emongeſt his frendes, and placed his footemenne, and Archers behinde theim. He had many that ſouned vppon Timbrelles, (being Inſtrumentes that the Indians vſe in ſtede of Trompettes, wherewith their eares were ſo filled, that the noiſe of their enemies litle moued them. Thei bare alſo the Image of Hercules in the front of their fote battail, whiche was doen for an encouragement for thẽ to fight wel, & for a note of repꝛofe, & offence to thẽ that ſhould flie frõ that their ſtandarde. For it was loſſe of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare whiche thei conceiued of Hercules that ſometime had been their enemie, was then turned into a veneration and a religion. The ſight bothe of the Elephantes, and Porus himſelfe, aſtonied the Macedons, and cauſed theim a while to ſtaie. For the beaſtes being ſet in ordre emongeſt the armed men ſhewed a farre of like high Towres, and Porus himſelf exceding in maner the ſtature of man: the Elephant whereupon he did ride, was a ſetting foorth vnto his bigneſſe, whiche excelled ſo moche al the other Elephantes, as he himſelf excelled the reſt of men. So that Alexander beholding bothe Porus, and his power, ſaied, that at length he had found a peril equal vnto his hart For we haue to dooe (quod he) bothe with terrible beaſtes, and with notable menne of warre. And thereupon loked towardes Cenon, and ſaied vnto him: When I with Ptolomeus, Perdicas, and Epheſtion, ſhal ſet vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and ſhalt ſee vs in the heate of the fighte, dooe you then ſet forwardes my

right

right battaile, and frechelie assaile theim, when you see them beginne to fal out of ordre. Antigonus, Leonatus and Tauron, doo you bende against their maine battaile, and set vpon their fronte. Our pikes be long, and strong, & cãnot serue to any better vse, then against the Elephantes, wherwith thei maie be thrust through, and soche ouerthrowen, as be caried vpõ their backes. The Elephantes bee but an vncerteine force, whiche vse to doo most harme to their owne parte, for as thei vse to go against their enemies so long as thei bee at commaundement: so when thei bee once putte in feare, thei tourne against their owne side, and shewe moste rage towardes theim. He hadde not so sone spoken those wordes but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies, and when according to his appointment he hadde geuen the charge, Cenus with a greate force brake vpon the left battaile. And the Phalanx at the same instant brake in emongst the middest of their enemies. When Porus sawe the horsmen geue the charge he put forwardes his Elephantes to encountre theim.

But thei being slowe beastes, and not apte sodainly to moue, were preuented by the swiftenesse of the horses, and their bowes stode not them in any great stede, for by reason their arrowes were so long, and heauie, that thei could not nocke them within their bowes, except thei staied first their bowes vpon the ground, and the grounde being so slipperie that thei coulde haue no perfite foting: whileste thei were preparing thẽselues to shoote, their enemies were come emonges them. Then euery man fled from thordre that Porus had geuen as it chaunceth oftẽtimes emõgst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, then the Capiteines appointment. For in so many partes as their Armie was diui-

The confusion that fel emong Porus menne.

ded, so many generalles became emongst theim. Some would ioigne all their battailes in one, other woulde haue them diuided. Some willed to staie, & other to go forwardes, and enclose their enemies about. There was no general consultatiō emongst them. Porus notstanding accompanied with a fewe (with whom shame preuailed more then feare) assembled soche together as were dispersed abroade, and went forwardes against his enemies, setting his Elephantes in the front of the battaile.

Thei putte the Macedones in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crie, not onely the horse, that naturalie do feare them, but also amased the men, and disturbed their order. Insomoche that thei whiche a litle before thought themselues victours, loked about whiche waie to flie, and saue theimselues. Whiche thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephantes, the Agrianes, and Thracians that were men lighte armed, and apter to skirmishe a farre of, then to fighte hande to hande. Thei gaue the Elephantes, and their Gouernours moche a dooe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their dartes, and Arrowes that thei bestowed emongst theim. And the Phalanx came constantlie forwardes against theim that were in feare. But soche as presed ouer forwarde in fighting with the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction, who being trampled to deathe with their fete were an example to other, not to bee ouer hastie in aduenturing theimselues. The moste terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called Proboscides, tooke Armes in their Armour from the ground, and deliuered thē vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfullie, till the daie was farre

farre spente, the Souldiours sometime flying from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuing after theim, vntil that with a certeine kinde of crooked weapons called copidæ, (prepared for the purpose) thei cut the Elephantes vpon the legges. Those the Macedons had righte aptly deuised, for not onely the feare of deathe, but also the feare of a newe kinde of tourment in death, caused them to leue nothing vnproued. Finally Thelephantes wexied with woundes, with their violente strugling didde cast their gouernours to the earth, and tare theim in pieces, for thei ware put in soche feare, that thei ware no more hurtful to their enemies, but driuen oute of the battaile like shepe.

Porus being forsaken of the more parte of his menne, ceassed not to cast dartes wherof he had plentie prepared vpon his Elephant, emongest theim that flocked about him, whereby he wounding many, by reason he laie open to euery mannes blowe, was laied at on all partes, till he hadde receiued nine woundes behind, and before, through the whiche he bledde somoche that he had no power to cast any more, but for feblenesse thei fell out of his handes.

The Elephante also whiche he didde ride vpon, pricked forwardes with furie, made a greate disturbaunce amongest the Macedones, vntill that his gouernoure seing the kinge so faynte, that he lette falle his Dartes, and to be almoste past his remembraunce, stirred the beaste to flie awaie, whom Alexander folowed in all that he might, but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe deadde vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to chaunge, and take an other, was caste farre behynde. In the meane sea-

son Taxiles brother, that was sente by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhorte him that he shoulde not bee so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yelde himselfe vnto the victour. But he notwithstanding that his strength was nere past, and his bloude failed, yet sturred vp at a knowen voice, saied, that he knewe him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to his king and his countreie, and with that woorde tooke a darte whiche by chaunce was not fallen awaie, and threw it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the middest of his breste vnto his backe. And hauing shewed this laste proofe of his mannehode, fledde againe more faster then before. But when the Elephant, through many woundes that he hadde receiued, fainted in like sorte, then he staied, and turned his footemenne towardes his enemies that pursued.

By that time Alexander was come nere him, who vnderstanding the wilfulnesse of Porus, willed none to bee spared that made resistence. Wherupon euery man threw dartes against Porus, and soche footemenne as stode in his defence, wherwith at length he was oppressed that he began to fall from his Elephante. Then the Indian whiche was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beaste after his accustomed maner to bende towarde the earth, whiche submitting himselfe, all the rest as they were taughte, bowed doune their bodies likewise, whiche was the cause of Porus taking, and of the reste. When Alexander sawe Porus bodie vpon the ground, caused him to be spoiled, thinking he had been dead, and diuers ranne about him to pul of his harnais, and his vesture, whiche thing when the Elephant sawe: He began to defend his master, running vpon his spoilers, and went about

to

to lifte him againe vpon his backe, wherevpon thei all setting vpon the Elephant slue him, and laied Porus in a carte. Whom when Alexander did beholde, lifting vp his yies, & moued with no hatred, but with cõpassion said vnto him, what mischief, and madnesse was in thy minde, hering of the fame of mine actes, to hasarde the battaille with mee, and my power, seing Taxiles was so nere an example of the clemencie that I vse to soche as submitte themselues? To whom he made answere. Forsomoche (quod he) as I am demaunded a question: I will aunswere as freely as I am spoken vnto, knowing mine owne strengthe, and not hauing yeat proued thine, I thought no man of greater power then myself but now the successe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therin I doe impute to myselfe not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place and am next vnto the.

Alexanders woords to Porus.

Porus answere

He was asked moreouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victorie should be vsed. Use it (quod he) after soche sorte, as this daies fortune shall put in thy minde, wherin there hath ben sufficient profe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is. This admonishment auailed him more, thē if he had submitted himselfe, or made any sute. For when Alexander sawe the greatnes of his courage, and his hart so voide of feare, that it coulde not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to geue him his life, but also honorably to entertein him. For so lõg as he laie diseased of his woũdes, he toke no lesse care of his curing, thē if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed (contrary to that whiche al men loked for) he receiued him emong the nũbre of his frendes, & enlarged his kingdome greater then before. Ther was nothing

Mimi felicitas ita transitoria, ut tegi nequeat.

in

Aliquid sad
vocem in
admiratione,
when it was
in his enemies.
but when it
chaunced in
his owne men
it was some
what terrible
vnto him
thinking that
their fame
might bee a
destruction
to his owne
greatnesse
whiche he
euer thoughte
to grow
greater, as
thei were of
greatnes
that he
subdued.

in Alexanders nature more perfeite, or more constant, then that he woulde euer haue vertue in admiratione, when it was soche that it deserued true praise, and glorie, and specially when he sawe thesame in his enemie. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was some what terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might bee a destruction to his owne greatnesse, whiche he euer thoughte to grow greater, as thei were of greatnes that he subdued.

The ninth booke

of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander king of Macedone.

ALexander reioising in so notable a victorie, whereby he sawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offred vp sacrifice vnto the Sunne, & to cause his souldiours to be more willing to goe forwarde in finishing the rest of the warres, assembled thē together, & after he had commended their doinges: declared how in that latter battaile, thei had defeated, & broken the force of al Thindiens power and should finde frōthenforth nothing but a plentiful praie. For he said that in the country wherunto he was going, the richesse chiefli e remained, that was somoche spokē of throughout the whole world, in respect wherof, the spoiles of the Persians were but vile, & bagage', and that occasion was now geuen them, not only to fil their owne houses, but also all Macedonia, and Grece with pearles, with precious stones, with golde, & with Iuorie. The souldiers being desirous bothe of richesse, and of glorie, because thei had neuer founde his woordes vaine, promised him to dooe whatsoeuer he would haue them, wherupon he dismissed thē ful of good hope and set them about the making of shippes, to thintent that hauing ouerrunne al Asia, he might visite the Occean Sea, that was in the ende of all the World.

defeated.

fromtgompatie

The Mounteines nexte at hande were plen-

ti-

tifull of Timber to make Shippes withall, in cutting downe whereof the Macedones founde Serpentes of soche bignesse, as thei had not seen before, and also Rhinocerites, beastes that be seldome founde in any other place, whiche name was geuen to them by the Grekes: for in the Indian language thei are otherwise called. Alexander builded a citie vpon either side of the Riuer of Hidaspis, whiche ones perfourmed, he gaue to euery one of his capiteines a croune of Golde, and a thousande pieces of Golde besides, preferring, and rewarding euery other, according to their qualitie, degree, and deseruing.

Abiazares which had sent ambassadours vnto Alexander before the batail fought with Porus, sent thē embassadors to him again, offring to do al thinges that he would appoint, so that he might kepe his bodie at libertie, for he desired not to liue, except he might remaine a king, and he thought himself vnmete to reigne after he had been ones a captiue. He signified again to Abiazares, that if his coming should be greuous, he would not sticke to visite him in persone. Hauing thus vanquished Porus, and passed the riuer of Hidaspis, he went forward into the inward partes of India, whiche was a countreie ful of great woodes, and high trees, the aire very holsome, & temperat, the shadow of the trees mitigating the heate of the sunne, & the plentie of spринges, keping the grounde moist. There were also many serpentes seen, whose scales glistered like golde. There was nothing more daungerous then the poison proceding from them, for immediatly vpō the stinging, death folowed til soche time as thinhabitours of the country shewed a remedie. ¶ From thence through desertes thei came vnto the greate Riuer of Hiraotis, where-

vnto

vnto there ioigned a great wood, whiche hauing soche trees as are not wont to bee seen in other places, was also full of wilde pecockes. Alexander remouing his campe from thence, wan a toune by assault, and taking pledges, appointed theim to paie tribute: After that he came to a great citie (after the maner of that countrie) whiche was bothe well walled, & also enuironed about with a marrisse. Thinhabitauntes came foorth against Alexander, and ioigning their cartes together in a frõt (wherin their custome was to fight) thei proffered him the battaile. Some occupied dartes, some speares, and other axes, and with great agilitie leaped to, and fro to their cartes, when either thei woulde relieue their fellowes that were werie of fighting, or els succour, or rescue soche as were in distresse. This vnwonted kinde of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not able to come to hande stripes with theim. But after thei hadde considered their disordered maner, thei estemed not their force, but enclosed their enemies about and thrust them in with pikes, and the soner to defeate them, thei cut the bandes wherwith the cartes were tied, to seperat them a sonder. When thei had after that maner lost viii. C. of their men, thei fled agaim into the citie, whiche the next daie the Macedons did winne by assault. Certeine there were that saued thẽselues by flyng, whiche seing the Citie loste, swomme ouer the water, and filled all the townes thereabout with feare. Thei declared of what inuincible force their enemies were of, iudging theim in respecte of their power rather Goddes then menne. When Alexander hadde gotten that citie, he sent Perdicas with a parte of his Armie to destroie the Countreie, and committing another part to Eumenes

Wyld ppy-
torks m
Indie, & prouf
ouer m England
but they vi-
uatus all.

Marrisse

Agilitie

vnwonted

Eumenes

nes for the subduing of soche as woulde not become o-
bedient, he with the rest of his power came vnto a strõg
Citie, whiche was the refuge of all the Countrie ther
about. Notwithstanding that the inhabitauntes sent
to Alexander for peace, yet thei prepared neuertheleſſe
for the warre, by reason of a sedicion whiche rose a
mongst them, that made thẽ to be of diuerse opinions:
Some would rather haue endured any extremitie then
to yelde, and other thought thei were not hable to ma-
ke resistaunce, and whileſt there differed so in opiniones,
& made no common consultacion emongest themselues
Soche as helde opinion to yelde vp the Citie, opened
the Gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwith
standing that Alexander hadde iuſt cause of displeasure
against the contrarie faction, yeat he pardoned them al
and receiuing their pledges remoued towarde the nexte
Citie. Whẽ thindians that stoode vpon the walles saw
the pledges that were brought before the Armie, whom
thei perceiued to be of thesame nation, desired commu-
nicatione with theim, who declaring bothe the Kinges
clemencie, and his force, didne moue theim to rendre vp
their Citie, whose ensample the reste of the cities didde
folowe

Sophites.

Fromthens he came into the citie of Sophites, whi-
che is a nation (as the Indiens thinke) most excelling in
Wisedome, best gouerned, and that haue the best Cus-
tomes emongest theim. The Childzen that bee there
gotten, are not nourished, and brought vp accoꝛding to
the wille of their Parentes, but by the oꝛdre of soche
as haue the charge committed vnto theim to vieu the
state of thinfantes. If thei perceiue any not apte to
become actiue, oꝛ els wanting any of their limmes,
thei cause theim streight waies to bee killed. Thei vse

to

to marie without any respecte of the kindred thei come of, or the greatnes of parentage, making no choise, but in the shape of the bodie, which is the thing that is only esteemed emongst theim. The King himself was within the chiefe Citie of the Countrie, against the whiche Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, and no man appeared in Armes vpon the walles, to make any defence, wherefore he stode in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that the inhabiters hadde kepte themselues secrete for some policie. Whiles he remained in that expectatione, sodeinlie the gate was opened, and the King (whiche in goodlinesse of personage excelled all the rest) came foorth with his two sonnes. He ware a garment of Golde, and Purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his legge, and the soles he ware on his feete were set with precious stones, All his armes were garnished with pearles, and hadde hanging at his eares two precious stones, whiche were excellent bothe for bignesse, and brightnesse, and there he had a scepter of golde set with precious stones called Berillis, whiche he after his salutacion made with hũble submission, deliuered vnto Alexander: yelding bothe himself, his children and his kingdome into his handes

Nota.

There were in that countrie very notable Dogges for the hunting of wilde beastes, whiche specially were geuen to be egre vpon the Lion. The King therefore to shewe their force, and propertie vnto Alexander, put fower of theim vnto a greate Lion, whiche streighte waies caughte him faste. Then one whiche was accustomed to that Office, tooke one of those Dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lion, and because he woulde not loose his holde, cutte of his legge with a Swearde. But when the Dogge stacke neuertheless

vnto

vnto his game, he was cut a sundze in piece meale, till soche time as he died, hauing his tiethe still fastened in the Lions flesche. Soche a feruentnesse of nature had wzought in those beastes, as wee vnderstode by the re-
pozte. Sometime I am enfozced to wzite thinges that I can scarcely beleue. Foz I neither dare affirme the thinges wherof I doubte, noz conceale soche thinges as I haue receiued foz trueth. Alexander leauing this king within his owne kingdome came vnto the riuer of Hilpasis, and there ioigned with Ephestion, whiche
Hylpasis. hadde subdued the countrie thereabout.

One Phegelas was king of the next nation, whiche
king Phegelas cõmaunding his subiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as thei were wont to doe, met Alexander with riche pzesentes, refusing nothing that was commaunded him. When he hadde taried with him two daies, and was determined the thirde daie to haue passed the riuer, he founde therin great difficultie by reason that the streame was so large, and full of greate stones: He staied therfoze a while, to bee moze fullie aduertised of the state of those countries, and of all soche thinges as were necessarie foz him to knowe. He vnderstode by Phegelas how beyond that riuer there laie a desert of ten daies iourneie, and nexte to that desert the riuer of Ganges, which was the greatest riuer in al the Oziet. He shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited twoo nacions called Gangaridans, and Pharrasians, whose
Gangaridans. Pharrasians Agramenes. king was called Agramenes, whiche vsed to come to the fielde with .xx. M. hozsemenne, C C. thousande footemen, two thousande armed wagons, and thze. M Elephantes, whiche were counted the greatest terrour Those thinges semed incredible vnto Alexander, and therefoze enquired of Pozus, if the thinges were true

that

that hadde been tolde him. He confirmed Phegelas re-
porte concerning the force of the nacion. But he saied
their king was come of no noble bloude, but of the ba-
sest sorte of menne, whose father being a Barbour, and
with great peine getting his dailie liuing, came in fa-
uour with the Quene, who brought him to haue al the
doinges about the king her husbande, whiche was af-
terwardes slaine by their treason. Then he vnder co-
lour to bee come tutour vnto the childzen, vsurped the
kingdome to himselfe, and putting the childzē to death
did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and
disgrace of the people, as one that folowed more the
maners of his fathers former estate, then suche as did
beseeme the dignitie of a Prince. When Alexander
harde Porus affirme this matter, he became in greate
trouble of minde, not that he regarded the multitude
of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephantes. But
he feared the greatnesse of the riuers and the situacion
of the countrie so difficulte to entre vpon. He thought
it a harde enterprise to seke out nacions so farre inha-
biting in the vttermoste boundes of the worlde. Yet on
the other side the griedinesse of glorie, & the vnsaciable Nota.
desire of fame, made no place to seeme to farre, nor no
aduenture to bee ouerharde. He doubted also that the
Macedones whiche hadde passed so many countries,
and were waxen aged with warres, woulde not be con-
tent to folowe him ouer so many riuers, and against so
many difficulties of nature lying in their waie. For he
iudged, that since thei abounded, and were so laden
with spoile, thei woulde rather seke to enioie such thin-
ges as thei hadde gotten, then to trauaill any ferther
in getting of more. He coulde not thinke thesame appe-
tite to bee in his souldiours, that was in himselfe.

For he cõpassed in his minde how to get the Empire of the whole worlde, into whiche matier he hadde but made his entre: where as thei weried with trauail, and thinking to haue paste all perill, loked to enioie with spede, the fructe of al their labour: yet for al that, his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his armeie together and spake vnto theim after this maner. I am not ignorant (my souldiours) how that there be now many rumours sowed emonges you by the Indians, purposelie to put you in feare. But the vanitie of their lying is not so new a thing, ꝑ it is able now to deceiue you. The Persians after that maner would haue made both the streightes of Cilicia, & the plaines of Mesopotamie terrible vnto you, yea & put you in feare of the riuers of Tigre and Euphrates, and yet we wadid ouer thone of thẽ, and passed the other by a bridge. The fame neuer reporteth thinges truely, but maketh all thinges greater thẽ thei be in dede. Eue our glorie, though it be growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame, then in effect. Whiche of you of late did thinke, that you should haue ben able to endure the Elephãtes, shewing afarre of like casselles? Who thought I could haue passed the riuer of Hydaspis, when it was reported to bee muche greter then it was? We shoulde longe agoe (my souldiours) haue fled out of Asia, if tales coulde haue caused vs to tourne our backes. Thinke you that the nũbre of the Elephantes be greater, then you haue seen herdes of bestes in other places? seing thei be so rare in the worlde and so straunge to be take? there must nedes be muche more difficultie in the making of theim tame. The same vanitie that hath reported thẽ to you to be of suche numbre, hath nũbred also their horsemen & their fotemen. Concerning the riuers, the more broader thei bee

Alexanders oratiõ to his souldeours.

be,the moze gently thei muſt runne. For ſuch as be nar-
rowe & of ſmal breadth,runne alwaies with the moſte
behement ſtreame, where as contrariewiſe the broade
riuers paſſe their courſes moze mildelie. But you will
peraduenture ſaie that al the peril is at the ſhoze,where
your enemies ſhal waite foz your arriuall. Whatſoeuer
the riuer be,ỹ hazard is al one at the landing. But ima-
gine that al thoſe thinges were true. Whether is it the
greatneſſe of the beaſtes,oz the multitude of the mẽ that
put you in feare? As concerning the elephantes we haue
had experiẽce of them of late,how muche moze rigozou-
ſlie thei rage againſt their owne partie, thẽ againſt vs.
what ſhould we eſteme thẽ, but only abate ỹ greatneſſe
of their bodies, with ſuche weapons as we haue prepa-
red foz the purpoſe. What matier is it whether thei bee
of the like nũbze that Pozus had,oz whether thei be.iii.
M. ſeing we perceiue,that when twoo oz thzee bee once
woũded,the reſt bende thẽ ſelues to flie awaie. And foz
aſmuche as thei cannot wel be gouerned when thei bee
but fewe, when there be ſo many thouſandes together,
thei muſt then nedes be an impediment one to another,
and bzeade a confuſion emonges them ſelues: thei be ſo
vnweldie by reaſon of their huge bodies, that thei bee vnweldie
neither apt to paſſe fozwards,noz yet to flie. I haue al-
waies ſo litle eſtemed thẽ,that when I haue had plentie
of that kinde, I would neuer vſe thẽ: knowing very wel
that thei be moze daũgerous to ſuche as occupie them,
then thei be to their enemies. But peraduentur it is the
multitude of their horſemen & footemen that doe moue
you: were you neuer wont to fight againſt ſuch nũbzes:
oz is it the firſte time that you haue encountred with
diſozdzed multitudes: The riuer of Granicke is a wit-
neſſe howe inuincible the power of the Macedones

is against any multitude. And so is Cilicia that flowed with the Persians bloude, and Arbella whose plaines bee strewed with their boanes. It is ouer late to counte the numbre of your enemies, after that with your victorie ye haue made Asia desert. When ye passed ouer Hellespont, you shoulde then haue considred your small numbre. Now the Scythians dooe folowe vs, we haue aide at hande from the Bactrians, and we supplie our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in theim, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force. I reserue your manhode about me, as a pledge & assuraunce of my actes and doinges. So longe as I maie stande in the fielde emonges you, I will neither waie my selfe, nor mine enemies. Dooe you but shewe an apparaunce, that there is hope in you and cherefulnesse. We are not now newelie entred into our trauailles, but haue passed all our laboures, being come to the rising of the sonne, and to the Ocean Sea, excepte our awne slougth bee our impedimente. From thens hauing subdued the worlde, we shal retourne as victours into our countrie. Doe not you as these negligente husbandmen, that lose their fruicte after it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourneie be greater thē our perill. The countrie that we goe vnto, is riche and of no force, thither I purpose to bring you both to winne glorie, & to get you spoile. For worthie you are to carie suche riches into your countrie, whiche be so plentifull there, that the sea doeth cast them vp against the shore. You bee men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothing vnproued, nor nothing vndoen for feare, I desire and praie you by the glorie ye haue gotten, in whiche ye excede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remaine as inuincible

cible: that ye wil not forsake me, purposing to visite the ende of the worlde: Me I saie that haue been brought vp as a childe emongst you. I will make no mencion how I am your king: In the rest of thinges I haue cõmaunded you, lette mee now entreate you, in this one point. It is I that make this request vnto you, whiche neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my selfe formost in thaduenture, and daungier, and the whiche oftentimes in mine owne person haue been the formost in defence of the battail, take not the victorie out of my handes, with the whiche (if enuie be not the lette) I shal become equal in glorie bothe to Hercules, and Bacchus Geue your assent to mine intercession, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your chowting become that was wont to be a declaration of your cherefulnesse? Where be the countenaunces of my countreie men? I know you not my souldiers, and it semeth that I am not knowen of you. Mee thinkes I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and go about in wast to stirre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoueable mindes. Intercession

Notwithstanding al these woordes, thei hong doune their heddes towardes the earth, and persеuered stil in silence. Then he proceded: I know not (quod he) wher in I haue vnwitting offended you, that you will not ones vouchesauke to loke mee in the face. I seme to bee solitarie, and in a deserte. Is there none of you that I speake vnto, will aunswere mee? Is there none at the least waies will denigh my requeste? What is the thing that I require? euen your owne glorie, and your owne encrease. Where be thei now whom I sawe, not long ago cõtending who should first take vp their king when he was wounded And now yee leaue mee alone: yee forsake me, yee betraie me to mine enemies. But I

will not leaue mine entrepzice though I go alone. Put me fozwardes to those Riuers, to those beastes, and to those naciones, the very names of whom yee feare so moche. The Scithians, and Bactrians shall goe with me, whiche of late were mine enemies, and now be my Souldiours. I had rather die then be a king, to bee ruled, and at other mennes appointment. Departe you home, goe I saie, and triumphe of the abandoning of your king. Foz I will rather obteine here the victozie, wherof you haue despaired, oz els die a deathe that shal be honourable. Notwithstanding al that he had saied, there was not one souldier that would open his mouth to speake, but stoode waiting that some of the Pzinces, and greate Capiteines shoulde declare vnto the kinge their states, and how that there remained not in theim any obstinate refusall of the Warres, but that thei were so exhausted with woundes, and wearied with continuall trauayle, that they were not able to endure any lenger. As thei stode thus astonied, and afraied, in scilence, and looking vpon the grounde, there began firste a whispering, and a rumour emongest theim, and afterwardes a lamentation, and by litle and litle thei beganne moze manifestly to shewe their doloure, the teares falling from their yies. The kinges anger was then so tourned into compassion, that he was not hable neither to keepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assemblie brast out into an excessiue weping.

And when the reste were at a staie to speake, Cenus tooke vpon him to pzeasse fozwardes, towardes the Judgement seate where Alexander stoode, signifiying that hee had somewhat to saie. When the Souldiours sawe him pull his healmet from his head (foz so it was the Custome to speake vnto the king) thei begane to

to require him that he woulde vtter the cause of the whole armie. Then Cenus beganne on this wise.

Cenus wordes in the name of the whole armie.

The Goddes defende our mindes from all wicked thoughtes, as I doubt not but thei will, there are none of your souldiours, but be of thesame minde towardes you, that thei haue been in times paste: Whether it bee your pleasure to commaunde theim to goe forwardes to fight, & to hasarde theimselues, or with their bloude, commende their name vnto the posteritie. And if you will nedes perseuer in your opinion, though we bee vnarmed, naked, and withoute bloude, wee will either come after you, or go before, as you shall thinke expediente. But if you will bee contente to heare youre souldiours griefes, and complaintes that be not feigned, but exprelled by force of very necessitie, I humblie beseche you then that yee woulde vouchesafe fauourablie to heare theim, that constantlie haue folowed your authoritie, and fortune, and are yeat readie to folowe whereseoeuer you will appoincte. O Alexander, with the greatnesse of your Actes, ye haue not ouercome onely your enemies, but also vs your owne Souldiours Whatsoeuer mannes mortalitie is hable to fulfille, that is perfourmed by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and Countries better knowen to vs, then to the very inhabitours, now remainyng in maner in the vttermoste ende of the worlde. And yeat for all this your purpose is to passe into an other World, and seke out an Inde vnknowen to the Indians. Yee couet to plucke out the wilde beastes, and serpentes out of their dennes, and lurking places, minding to searche further with your Victorie, then the Sunne hath visited with his beames, whiche truely is an imagination mete for

your harte, but farre exceding our capacitie, and power Your mannehode, and courage is alwaies in encrease, but our force groweth in declination. Beholde our bodies destitute of bloud, perced with so many woundes, and rotted with so many scarres. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted, and consumed, we weare our apparel after the Persianes maner, because our countreie garmentes dooe faile vs: We are degenerate out of our owne fashione, and growen into a straunge habite. What is he that hath his corselet, or horse particular to himself? Cause it to be enquired how many remaine emongst vs, and what remaineth to euery manne of the spoile. Being the victours of al menne, of al menne we are the poorest. It is not abundaunce, or excesse that trouble vs, but the very Warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, & yet ye minde to put forth this goodlie armie of yours naked vnto those beastes. The multitude of whom though Thindiens purposely doe encrease, yet of their vaine reporte we maie perceiue the numbre to be great. But if ye bee vtterlie determined to passe yet further into Inde, the countreie that lieth Southwarde is not so desert as the other, whiche being subdued, ye maie passe to that sea whiche nature hath appointed to bounde in the worlde. Why doe you seke that glorie a farre of, whiche remaineth to you redy at your hande? Here the Ocean sea doeth mete vs and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate vnto vs.

I hadde rather speake these thinges before you, then behinde your backe, for I seeke not to winne fauour amongst the menne of Warre that stande here aboute mee, but desire you shoulde rather heare their mindes expressed in plaine woordes, then to heare their griefe

and

and their grudge vttred in muttering, and in murmur. Mutterings & murmurs.
When Cenus had made an ende of his tale, there rysse a crie, and a lamentacion, which with confused voices euery where called Alexander their kyng, their father, & their lord. Then the other capiteines, (and specially the elders, whiche by reason of their Age, had the more honest excuse and greater auctorite) made the like request So that the kyng was not hable to chastise them being in that obstinacie, nor mitigate theim being so moued Therfore vncerteine what to doe, he lept from the iudgemēt place, and commaunding his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man, but soche as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his angre, & and the third he came foorth emongst his men, causing xii. aultares of square stone there to be set vp, as a monument of his iourneie, and willed the trenches of his campe to be made wider, and the places wher the souldiours late to bee enlarged greater then serued for the bignesse of their bodies, thinking by the forme & shape of thinges thus encreased, to leaue a deceiptfull woonder vnto his posteritie. From thens he retourned again by the waie he had passed before, and encamped vpō the riuer of Acesines. Cenus chaunced there to die, whose death the kyng lamented, but yet he said, that for so few daies he had made an ouerlong Oration, as though he alone sholde haue returned into Macedō. By that time the nauie of Shippes, whiche he had appounted to be made, stode in redines a flote, and Memnō in the meane season brought him oute of Thrace a supplie of. vi. M. horsemen, and besides from Harpalus. vii. M. fotemen with xxv. M. armours that were wrought with siluer and golde, whiche he distributed emongst his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe

vnto the Ocean Sea with.M.shippes. But before his departure he reconciled together by affinitie Porus, and Taxiles, betwixte whom there was a newe discorde risen vpon their olde hatredes. He hadde obteined of theim great aide bothe in the making, and furnishing of his naue. During the time he was about that businesse, he builded there.ii.cities, wherof he called thone Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was ded. He gaue order that his Elephantes, and carriage should passe by lande, and he sailed doune the riuer, proceding euery daie about.xl furlõges, so that he might euer lande his power in soche places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a countrie whereas the Riuer of Hidaspis, and Acesines doe ioigne together, and doe runne from thence into the boundes of a nacion called Sobions. Thei declared that their predecessours came of Hercules armie, whiche being left there sicke, did inhabite the countrie. Thei were clothed in beastes skinnes, vsing clubbes for their weapons, and though thei had lefte the customes of the Grekes, yet ther appered many thinges emong theim, that declared from whens thei wer descended. Here the king landed, and marched. CCX. furlonges within the countreie, whiche he wasted, and toke the chiefest Citie in the same. There were.xl.M.menne that stoode in defence against him vpon a riuers side, but he passed the water putting them to flight, and after thei fledde into the Citie, he wanne it by force. The childzen were slain, and the reste solde as slaues. He assaulted an other Citie where he was repulsed, with the greate force of the Defendauntes, and losse many of his menne. But when the Inhabitauntes sawe that he continued still the siege, despairyng of their saulfe garde, thei sette fire on.

Nicea. Bucephalon

The Sobions.

on their houses, and burned theselues, their wiues, and their children. Whiche fire when the Macedons quéched and thei kindled thesame againe, it semed a straunge contencione, the Citizeins to destroie their owne citie, their enemies labouring to saue it: the Warres so contrariously chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The Castle was saued wherein a guarrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water whiche was enuironned with thre of the greatest Riuers in all Inde, Ganges except. Indus passing vpon the Northe side, and Acesines running into Hidaspis vpon the south Where these Riuers mette, the waues rose like surges of the Sea, being full of mudde, and ooes, whiche by the course of the Water driuen vnto the sides: for all that the riuers are broade, yet the chanelles are but narowe wherein the Shippes must passe. The waues did rise so highe, and thicke, breaking sometime vpon the Puppes of the shippes, and sometime vpon the sides, that the shipmenne beganne to vale their Sailes. But thei were so troubled through feare, and the violente swiftnesse of the streame, that thei could not order their tackling, so that twoo of their greatest Shippes were drowned within sight. And the smaller vesselles whiche were as vnable to bee gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore without any harme. The King chaunced vpon the place whereas the waues went highest, wherewith his shippe was so tossed, and trauersed, that the healme could not directe his course. Wherefore the king doubtyng of drowning, pulled of his garment readie to caste himself into the water, and his frēdes did swimme nere thereabout readie to receiue him: It appearing to him doubtfull, whiche peril was greatest, either to swimme or to continue stille aboorde. But the Marineres la-

laboured wonderfullie with their oares, adding all the force that laie in mãs power to cut through the waues by whose importunate trauaile, the water seined to diuide a soondrei, and to geue place, so that at length thei haled out of the surges, and yeat not able to bringe the shippe to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appering that the shippes, and the streame had fought a battaile togethers. Alexander hauing escaped this perille, set vp to euery riuer an aultare, whereupon he offred due sacrifice, and that dooen, past forwarde thirtie furlonges

Sudrichans Mallias

From thens he came into the countreie of the Sudrichans, and Mallians, whiche accustomed to bee at warre emongest theimselues, then for their owne Defence, thei ioigned in societie. Thei assembled in armes to the numbre of .ix. M. footmen. x. M. horsemen, and .ix C. armed wagons, whereof when the Macedones were aduertised, whiche beleued that thei had passed all perilles, seing a freshe warre arise, with a newe fierce nation, were amased with a sodeine feare, and beganne a-

the Mutinous woordes of the Souldiours.

gaine with seditious woordes to reproue their King. Thei alleged that he woulde lately haue compelled them to passe the Riuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations liyng beyonde thesame, whiche enterprise though it were lefte, thei hadde not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, being putte foorth emongst these wilde nationes, to make the Ocean Sea open to him with their bloudde, and to be drawen beyonde the Sunne, and Sterres. Thei were compelled (thei saied) to visite those places, whiche Nature coueted to remoue from mannes knowelege. Thei grudged that to their newe Armoure, there were newe enemies raised vp, whom if thei shoulde vanquishe, and putte to flight

flight, thei coulde not see what benefeicte thei coulde receiue thereby, but onely darkenesse and obscuritie of the Aire, whiche alwaies couered the deepe Sea, repleniched with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, where as nature decaying, she failed of her force. The king litle moued in his awne respecte, was greatlie troubled with those passions of his souldiours. Wherefore he assembled theim altogether declaring of how feble a force those nacions were, whom thei feared so muche, whiche only remained, and were impediment vnto theim (hauing passed ouer so many countries) to attaine bothe to the fulle of their trauaill, and to the ende of the worlde. He shewed how that in respecte of their former feare, he hadde lefte his enterprise ouer Ganges, with the conquest of the nacions inhabitmg beyonde thesame, and hadde directed his iourneie this waie, where as their glorie shoulde bee as great, and their perill muche lesse, and wherein thei hadde not farre to trauaill, seing the Ocean was in maner within sighte, the Aire whereof he felte blowing in his face. He required theim therefore that thei woulde not enuie the glorie that he soughte, by passing the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seing that with so litle paine thei might geue vnto their king perpetuall fame and immortalitie. In doing whereof thei shoulde departe out of India as victorous, where as otherwise thei shoulde seeme to flie awaie from thens. It is the propertie of euery multitude, and speciallie of menne of warre, to bee drawen with euery litle mocion, emonges whom as sedicion dothe sone rise, so it is sone pacified. There was neuer a more cherefull crie made of any armeie before, then the Souldiours then made vnto Alexander, whiche willed him to leade

Alexander perswaded his souldiours.

them

theim whether soeuer he woulde, and make himselfe equall in glorie to theim, whose actes he did counterfeite. Alexander reioising in the willingnesse that appeared in theim, remoued streightwaies towardes his enemies, that were the stowtest people of all the Indians. Thei prepared theim selues stowtlie for the warres, and chose for their Capitaine one of the Oxidracans that was of an approued manhode: Who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fiers all abroade, to cause his numbre appeare the greater, and wente aboute in vaine to feare the Macedones, when thei were in reste, by making of Alarmes, with their cries and maner of howling. When the daie appeared, Alexander hauing an assured truste to winne the victorie, commaunded the Souldiours to put on their armoure, and cherefullie to fall in ordre of battaill.

But the Indians, whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedicion risen emonges theim, sodainelie fledde into the deserte mountaines, whom Alexander folowed in vaine, and not able to ouertake theim, toke their cariage. After this he came vnto a Citie of the Oxidracans wherunto great numbre were fled, aswel in truste of the strengthe of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexãder was about to make the approche, Demephon his diuiner admonished him, that he should either deferre the matier, or els not medle with it at all, for that there appeared signes that his life shoulde be in perill. When Alexander had hearde his wordes, he behelde him, and saied: If any mã should interrupt the, when thou art busie aboute thy science, or considering of the intrailes, should not he seme vnto the troublous, and his comming bee vngratefull? Yes truely (quod he,)

he.) So art thou nowe vnto me (quod Alexander.) For hauing so great matiers in hande, of more momẽt then the entrailes of beastes I finde no greater impedimẽt then a superstitious diuiner. And as sone as he had spoken the worde, he caused theim to rere vp ladders, and whiles other menne sticked, and staied at the matier, he mounted vp the walle. The same was very narowe in the toppe, not diuided with lopes (as is commonlie vsed) but enclosed with one whole and continuall battilment rounde about, whiche causeth it to bee the more harde to scale.

Alexander therefore hauing no conuenient rowme to stande at his defence, staied vpon the walle, receiuing vpon his target the dartes whiche were caste at him from all partes. His Souldeours coulde not gette vnto him, thei were so beaten from the walles by the multitude of shot that came from aboue. Yet at length when by their staiyng thei sawe their kinge geuen vp into their enemies handes, shame ouercame their imminent daunger. But their ouermuche haste was ouer great a lette, and the cause why, thei coulde not come to the rescue of their king.

For whiles euery man coueted vp the ladders, thei were so sore laden that thei brake asunder, and suche as were mounted vpon theim fell downe againe, deceiuinge Alexander of his onely hope. So that in the sighte of all the armeie, he stode destitute as in a Deserte, without any aide or succoure, and hadde wered his lefte arme (with the whiche he helde his Target) in receiuing the blowes. His frendes cried vnto him that he shoulde leape downe vnto theim, who stode in a readinesse to receiue him. But he geuing no eare vnto them, vndertoke an incredible enterprise, and such

one

one as hath not been hearde of before, deseruing rather fame of rasheneſſe, then of any commendacion that mighte ſounde to his glorie. For with a full leape he did caſte himſelfe into the citie that was ful of his enemies, where as he coulde ſcarcelie haue any hope to fighte for his life, or in dying to bee reuenged vpon his enemies. For before he coulde recouer his feete againe, it was likelie either he ſhoulde haue been ſlaine, or taken aliue. But he by chaunce ſo conueied his bodie, that he fell vpon his feete, and ſtanding, encountred with ſuche as came againſt him: Fortune ſo prouiding that he coulde not be encloſed aboute by reaſon of an olde tree, whiche (as it had been of purpoſe) ſtode nere vnto the wall: whoſe broade boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatneſſe of the ſtocke kepte his enemies from comming on his backe, and vpon the fore fronte he receiued the dartes & were caſt againſt him with his target. For though ther were neuer ſo many that contended with him a farre of, yet durſte there no man come nere vnto him, and the boughes kept of the arrowes and the dartes ſo wel, as his target did. In this extremitie the greatneſſe of Alexanders fame chieflie, fought for him, and next deſperacio: a great encouragement for a man to die honeſtlie. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continuallie flocked about him, both his target was laden with ſhotte, his helmet was broken with ſtones, and his legges fainted and failed vnder him, by reaſon of his continuall trauaile. Whiche thing when his enemies perceiued, thei toke leſſe regarde to theim ſelues, and drue more nere him, of whom he receiued two with his ſweorde in ſuche ſorte, that thei fell downe deade at his feete. And from that time forwardes none was

A deſperate Attempt.

Comming & deſperation: yet would encourage a man to dye an honeſt ranſe, rather then to liue wt ſhame more.

ſo

so bolde to approche agayne so neare hym, but threwe dartes and shotte arrowes at hym a farre of. He lay open to euery mans blowe, and yet though it were wyth great payne defended hym selfe vpon hys knees, vntil suche tyme as an Indian shotte an arowe at him that was two cubites long, whyche a lyttle aboue hys ryghte thyghe passed throughe hys corselet. By reason of that wounde he shedde so muche bloude, that he lette hys swerde fall, as one at the pointe of death. And therwyth became so faynte, that he hadde not strength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian whyche hadde hurte hym, came wyth greate ioye to spoyle hys bodye. But when Alexander felte hys enemies hande vpon hym (moued as it is to be thought) wyth despite, to receiue an infamie to that extremitie, called againe his spirites that were passynge awaye, and with hys swerde thruste his enemye (beyng vnarmed) through the bodye.

Grant credible that om may lawfully withstond & mainge.

When he had thus slayne two of hys enemies whych laye deade before hym, al the rest stode a mased a farre of. Then Alexander desirynge before hys last breathe shoulde faile to be kylled fyghtynge began to rayse vp hys body vpon hys target. Yet his strength would not serue him therunto, and therefore reached at a boughe that honge ouer hys heade, couetynge thereby to haue raysed vp hym selfe. But hys power not sufficynge therunto, he fell downe agayne vpon hys knees, and by a sygne made with his hand chalenged his enemies if any of them durst come and matche wyth hym.

At the laste Peucestes repulsyng his enemies vpon an other parte of the citie, gotte into the towne, and coastynge along the walles came vnto the place where the kynge was. When Alexander espied hym, thoughe he had no hope to liue, yet he toke his comming for a com-

fort to hys death, and for all hys feablenes beganne to reare vp him self. Then came Timeus, and wythin a while Leonatus, and after then Aristonus. When it was once published emonges the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, thei left their defence in other places, and came flockynge thither, where as they fiercely assailed such as stode in defence of the kynges person. Tymeus after that he hadde fought notablye, and receiued manie woundes, was there slayne. Peucestes also not withstandyng that he was sticken and wounded with their dartes, yet with his target he defended the kynges person, without anie regarde of him selfe. And Leonatus whiles he resisted the Indians, that egerlye pressed vpon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fel downe in a sowne at the kynges feete. By that time Peucestes became so feable of his woundes, that he was not able to defende hym eny more. The laste hope and refuge remayned in Aristonus, who also was so greuously wounded, that he coulde not endure eny lenger the force of the Indians.

Timens. Leonatus. Aristonus.

In the meane season the fame was spreade emonges the Macedons, that their kynge was slayne: whiche beinge a matter that shoulde haue putte others in feare, stirred vp their hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwardes, there was none that hadde respect of his owne peryll, but aduentured to the wall, and breakynge downe the same wyth pykaxes, entred at the breache, makinge slaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe stode at defence, but fledde awaye. There was neuer man nor woman spared olde nor younge. For they mette none, but they iudged hym to be the person that hadde hurte their kinge, and so at

length

length with the murder of the multitude their furi Ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do write that Ptolomeus whyche afterwardes became kyng of Egipte was present in thys encountre. But he hym selfe that vsed not to denye eny thynge that stode with his owne glorye, did put in memorye howe that he was then absent, sente aboute an other enterprye. Suche a negligence was in theim that did wryte the antiquyties of thinges or els an ouer muche credulitye, whyche is a faulte no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into hys lodgyng the Surgions cut of the stale of that shafte in such wise, that they moued not the heade that was wythin the flesshe. And when they sawe the wounde bare, they perceyued hokes to be wythin the arrowe heade, so that wythout the destruction of his bodie, it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wounde greater. And yet in that poynte they feared, least aboundaunce of bloud should be impediment vnto theim. For the heade was verye great, and it seamed to be entered farre wythin hys bodye.

Clitarchus Timagenes

Incision

There was one Critobolus that was verye cunnynge and mosse excellente emonges all the Physitions and Surgions, and yet in so daungerous a matter as this, he was feareful and in doubt to set to his handes, least if eny thinge shoulde chaunce to the kinge otherwise then wel, whyles he remayned in thys cure, the blame myght lyght vpon his heade. Therfore whē Alexāder perceiued by his weping the feare he was in, and that throughe trouble of mynd he loked pale in the face, sayde vnto hym: What is it that thou lokest for, or whye doest thou staye in tyddynge me quickly

out of this payne, at the leaste wayes by death, if thou canst not otherwyse bryngе it to passe: For seinge my wounde is vncurable, why doest thou feare that eny thing should be layed vnto thy charge. When Critobolus heard his wordes, he eyther ceassed or dyssimuled hys feare, and exhorted Alexander that he would suffer him selfe to be holden whyles they pulled out ỳ arrowe heade that was wythin his flesshe, for the least motion (he saied) myghte be hurtefull vnto hym. The kynge would not be holden, but helde hys bodye at a staye wythout mouyng in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wounde wyder, and pulled out the heade, there issued suche aboundaunce of bloude, that the kynge fel in a sownde, & dymnes came ouer his syght, he stretchyng out hym selfe as one in ỳ panges of death. Then they wroughte all the meanes they coulde to staunche the bloude, but when they perceyued it would not auayle, his frendes beganne to cry out and lament, thynkynge verely that there had bene no waye but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleadyng, and recoueryng agayne his spirites, began to knowe theym that stode about hym. All that daye and the nyghte ensuynge, the men of warre stode in armes aboute the kynges lodgyng, confessyng that al their liues depended vpon his breath and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstode that he toke some rest. But when they knewe that he was fallen a sleape, they returned into the campe, bryngynge vnto the rest more certain hope of hys recouery. Alexander aboute the curyng of hys wounde, remayned there seuen dayes. and vnderstandynge that a constant fame of hys deathe was spreade abroade emonges the Indians, he caused two Shyppes to be fastened

Alexander dyed not vntyll he toke hym selfe as a man, and no god.

ned together, and a lodgynge to be made for hym in the myddes. So that remaynynge vppon the water, he myghte be sene from bothe sydes of the lande of theim that thought he hadde bene deade. When they countrey men by the viewe of hym, perceyued he was on lyue they toke awaye the hope that some hadde conceyued vpon the false repoꝛt. Frō thence he passed downe the streame, leauyng a dystaunce betwene hys shyppe, and the rest of the nauye, to the entente that wyth the beatynge of the oores, they shoulde not dysturbe hym of his reste, whyche was necessarye foꝛ hys weake bodye. The fourth daye after hys enbarkynge, he came into a countrey habandoned of the inhabitours, but yet plentifull bothe of coꝛne and cattel, in whyche place he thought expediente bothe to rest hym selfe, and hys souldiours. It was a custome emonges the Macedons, that when their kynge was dyseased, the chiefe pꝛinces, and the greate men, watched aboute hys lodgyng. Whyche maner beynge then obserued, they entred all together into the chamber where Alexander laye: at whose sodayne commyng he was somewhat amased, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought him some straunge tidynges and enquired of theim if they vnderstode of eny newe assemble of his enemies. Then Craterus whyche was appoynted to speake in the behalfe of them all, sayed to hym after thys maner.

Enbarkynge.

Amased.

Do you thyncke that the commyng of eny enemies coulde make vs so carefull (though they were entered within your campe) as we be of your health and sauegeuarde foꝛ all that it is a thynge whyche you reguarde least. Though all nacions conspire againste vs wyth their power, thoughe the whole woꝛlde were fylled full

Craterus woꝛdes to Alexander.

of men of warre, the Seas ouer spreade wyth shyppes and neuer so many straunge beastes brought agaynste vs, it consisteth in the momente of youre persionne to make vs victorers. But howe can eny God promise þ you whych be lyght and starre of Macedon, can be of eny continuaunce? seynge that you be so desierous to put your persone in suche manifest peryls, not remembryng that wyth youre death you drawe wyth you into ruine, the lyues of so manye of youre countrey men? What is he that either can or dothe desire to lyue after you? We are come so farre forth folowynge youre fortune and auethoritye, that wythout you, none of vs is able to returne home againe.

If ye were yet contendynge wyth Darius for the kingdome of Persee, though we all woulde wyshe that you woulde not aduenture your person so perylously yet in that case we coulde not maruayle so muche of youre prompte audacitye. For where the daunger and the benefite that ensueth therof is equal, then the fruit is the greater, when the matter succeadeth well, and the comforte is the more, when the thynge chaunceth euyll. There is no man, not onelye of vs that be youre souldiours but euen of suche as were youre enemyes, hauynge eupe vnderstandynge of youre greatnes, that canne sufferr so base a towne and of so little fame, be bought wyth the pryse of your lyfe. My harte shrynkes at the remembraunce of the thynge, whiche we but late dyd see wyth oure eyes. I am amased to rehearse howe those vile handes were in readines to haue caryed the spoyles of youre inuyncible persone, if Fortune of her mercye hadde not preserued and delyuered you from their crueltye. So manye of vs as were not able to folowe you, were all traytours and forsakers of

our

prompt & audacitie

The heauens did distribute all to fortune

our Prince. And though it were a matter that laye not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs al with reproche, there is none that wil refuse eny punyshmente in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstandynge we woulde require that you woulde spare vs for some other purpose. We will gladly go whether socuer ye will haue vs, we require warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battaile, thoughe our fightynge shall wante fame. So that you will reserue your selfe to those hasardes, whiche be mete for the greatnes of your estate. Howe some doth glorye vanishe awaye and become of no prayse, emonges such enemies as be of no reputacion: And what thynge is there more vnworthy, then to consume the glorye ye haue gotten els where emonges them, where as your glory can not appeare. When Craterus hadde tolde hys tale Ptolome and the other spake to hym in lyke effecte. And required hym all at once wyth weapynge eyes, that he woulde not from thence forth be eny more so thirsty to wynne praise, but seynge he hadde gotte sufficiente all readye, he should content hym selfe therwithall and reguarde his healthy and safeguard, wherupon their vniuersal estate did depende. The kynge toke so gratefully their louynge affection, that he familiarlye embraced euerye one of them, and after he had wylled them to sitte, repetynge more deapely their former communication, he sayed thus vnto them.

My faithfull louynge frendes and countreymen, I geue and render to you my hartye thanckes, not only for that ye prefer my saufegard before your own, but also for that sence the begynnyng of ỳ warres, ye haue not pretermitted eny thynge, wherin your loue & benevolence myght be shewed towardes me. So ỳ I must

Alexander vnto hys frendes.

confesse that my lyfe was neuer so deare as it is nowe, because I desire long to enioye you. You be desierous to offer youre selues to death in my quarell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imagination and myne is not after one sort. You peraduenture do couet continually to enioye me, and to take of me continual fruit. And I measure not myself by the continuaūce of my time, but by the greatnes of my glorye. I myghte haue bene content wyth the ryches my father lefte me, and with rest of my bodye haue loked for wyth the bounds of Macedon, an age obscure and without eny fame. And yet I can not see that they which liue in slougth and ydlenes, can assure them selues of their own destenye. For euen suche as esteme felicitye in longe life, be oftentimes preuented wyth sodayne death. But I whyche numbre not my yeres but my victoryes, haue liued long, if I wyll weye the gyftes of fortune. For begynnyng myne Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greace in myne owne handes, I haue subdued Thrace and the Illirians, I reigne ouer the Triballes, and the Medians, possessynge all Asia that lye betwixte Hellespont and the redde Sea, and nowe am not farre from the ende of the worlde, the whyche I determined to visite, and to make open to men a newe nature, and a newe worlde. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and beynge but .xxviii. yeres olde, & hauyng raygned but nine, am be come victorer of both regions.

Beneuolence.

Eyght & twenty yeres olde.

Do you thynke it then mete ỳ I should nowe ceasse from winnyng of that glorye, whereunto I haue onely addict my selfe? No, I wil neuer ceasse, but whersoeuer

I shall haue occasion to fight. I shall thinke my selfe to be in the Theatre, where the whole worlde dothe beholde me. I wyll geue nobilitye and fame to places that be obscure. And wyll laye open to all Nacions those countreys that nature hath remoued furdest frō them. In doyng wherof it shall be gratefull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it so. I am come of suche a stocke, that I ought to desire many thinges before long life. I praye you to remember that we be come into those countreyes where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What cityes did Semyramis builde? what nacions did she subdue? and what great workes did she accomplishe? We are not yet become equal to a woman in glory, and yet you would haue me to be satisfied of laude. The Goddes be fauourable vnto our purpose, for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to do. And it is the nert way to make those countreys we haue not yet touched to become ours, if we esteme nothyng to be of small valure, where as there is eny occasion to winne glorye. Let it be your care onely to preserue me from ciuill conspiracye and treason of mine owne people, and thē there be no aduentures of the warre shall put me in feare. Philippe was more sure in the fronte of the battayle abrode, thē when he was in quiet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies, but he coulde not eschue the violēce of his owne subiectes. And if you cōsider the ende of other kynges, you shall counte more that haue bene slayne by their owne men, then by enye forayne power. But because there is an occasion nowe offered me to vtter the thinge I haue long conceyued in my mynde. It shall be the greatest fruite I can receyue of my actes & my trauayles, if my mother

Mote

Treason seldy staine more Princes then vertue.

Olympiades when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortalitye. If she departe in my time, I wyll do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by deathe, remembre you to performe that I haue determined. And therupon he dismissed his frendes from him, and continued manye dayes in the same place.

A rebellion of the Grekes whiche Alexander had plated at Catabactria.

Whiles these thinges were a doynge in India, the Greake souldiours that had lande and habitation appoynted them at Catabactra, through a sedicio ꝑ chatised emonges them, rebelled agaynste hym. Not so much for enye hatred they bare hym, as for feare of punishemente. For they kylled diuers of their chiefe rulers. and assemblynge in force together, toke the Castle of Bactria that was negligentlye kepte, and procured the Bactrias to rebel with thē. Athenodorus was the chiefe emōges thē, who toke vpō him the name of a king, not so much for the desire of the kingdome, as by auctoritie to make hym selfe of power to conuey him selfe and others home into his countrey. But one Byron of hys owne nacion became his enemye, and conspirynge agaynst him, did bidde him to a banquet, where he was slayne by one Borus Macerianus. The nexte day folowyng, Byron assembled the Greakes together, perswadyng theim that he slewe Athenodorus but in hys owne defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed hym. But there were some that perceiued his policye, and suspicion was spreade emonges the rest. So that the Greakes fel to armes of purpose to slea Byron.

Athenodorus.

Byron.

But suche as were chiefe mitigated the wrathe of the multitude, and contrarye to his expectation was deliuered from that present peryll. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a whyle after, conspired agaynst them that saued his life, whose falshode knowē,

they

they toke bothe him and Borus, determinynge that Borus shoulde be putte to deathe oute of hande, and that Bycon shoulde ende his life by tormentes. As they were tormentynge of him, the Greake souldiours sodainelye in a furye (for what cause it is vncertayne) ranne to armes, the noyse of whō beyng heard wyth them that hadde the charge of Bycon, dyd lette hym at libertye, fearyng that the rumoure hadde bene made for his deliuerye. He as he was naked came runnyng emonges the Greakes, where as they were assembled, whose miserable estate so sodainly chaunged their myndes that thei willed him immediatly to be set at liberty.

By thys meanes Bycon beyng twise deliuered frō death, retourned into his countrey wyth the Greakes, leauyng the Colonye wherunto he was appoynted by Alexander. These thynges were done in the confynes of Bactria and Scythia. In the meane season the kyng of the two Nacions whyche we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadours vnto Alexander, whiche beyng menne of goodly personages, rydde in wagons semely apparelled, hauyng garmentes of linnen clothe embrodered with golde, and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their commynge was to yelde them selues, their cytye, their cōtrey, and their libertye, (whiche they hadde kept inuiolately by so many ages) to his wil & appointment. Of whiche their submission the Gods (they saied) were aucthours, & not eny feare, for they were contented to yelde them selues before they had proued their power with him. The kyng called a counsaile, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointyng to them to pay suche tribute as they before payed to the Arachosians. And besides to sende

two

two thousand fiue hundred horsemen to serue hym in his warres: all whiche thinges they performed obedientlye. Thys done he made a greate feaste, wherunto he inuited those Embassadours, and hys Lordes. He vsed therin sumptuous preparation, ordeynynge. C. beddes of golde to eate vpon: which beyng set a small distaunce one from another, were drawen about wyth curtaines garnished with goulde and purple. In that feaste there was shewed and sette forthe all the excesse and voluptuousnes, which either by long custome was vsed emong the Persiãs, or by corruption of their olde vsages taken vp emonges the Macedons: the vyces of both those nacions beyng there mingled and mixed togethers. There was at that feast one Diorippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of his excellent force well knowen vnto the kynge, whom certayne enuiousse and maliciousse persones, betwyxte earneste and pastyme, dyd reproue that he was geuen to fatte his bodye as an vnprofitable beaste. And when that other went to the battaile, he would anoint his body with oyle, & prepare him selfe to eate. Emonges other that vsed woordes of despite againste him, there was at the same feast one Horratus a Macedon, who in his dronkennes chalenged Diorippus, that if he were a man, he should fight the campe wyth hym the nexte daye vpon lyfe and death, where as the kynge shoulde iudge either him to be to rashe, or thother to much a dastard. Diorippus then laughyng to scorne the pride and arrogancy of the souldiour accepted his proffer. The nexte day they were more earnest to go to the combatte, then they were before in makyng of the chalenge, therefore when the king sawe them so bente, and that they would not leaue their purpose, he consented to their wil.

Emmptuous preparation

Diorippus

Horratus.

A combatte

There

There were greate nombre of men assembled at the combatte, emonges whom there were many Grecias whyche fauoured Dioxippus parte. The Macedon came into the Lystes armed at all peaces, holding in his left hande an yron buckler and a speare, and in his right hande a casting launce, & hauing his swoorde besides girte to hys syde, was furnisshed as though he should haue fought wyth many men at once. Dioxippus came furth anoynted wyth oyle, wyth a garlande vpon his heade, and hauing a redde cloth wrapt about his left arme, held in hys righthande a great knottye cudgel. The dyuersitie of their furnishement brought euery man in a wonderful expectacio. For they could not thinke it only a rashenes but a madnes for Dioxippus that was naked, to matche wyth the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kil his aduersary before they should come to hande strippes, threwe at him his launce, whiche Dioxippus auoided with bending of his body, & before that he could charge his pike he leaped to him and with his cudgel brake the same asondre. When the Macedon had lost both his weapos, he beganne to drawe hys swoorde, but Dioxippus preuented him wyth a close, & takinge both his fete from vnder him, threw him to the earth and there plucking hys swoorde from him, set his foote vpon his necke, and held vp his cudgell to haue striken out hys braynes, if the king had not caused him to staye his hand. Thys triumphe ended with displeasure bothe vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander hym selfe, specially because thys thing was done in the Indians presence, fearing lest the valiauntnes of the Macedos famed so muche in the worlde, might therby come into contept. Hereupon Alexader grudging at Dioxippus, bare hys

eares

eares open to the accusacion of the enuyous. They wythin a fewe dayes after had cauſed a golden cuppe to be purpoſely conueyed out of the waye, whyche the mynyſters hauing imbeſealed, made complaynte vnto Alexander of the loſſe thereof. Oftymes men ſhewe leſſe conſtaunce in countenaunce, then in the offence it ſelfe. For in their complaint, Diorippus perceiued by their lokes that they noted hym as the thiefe, whych he coulde not endure, but partyng out of the feaſte after he hadde wrytten a letter to the kynge, he kylled hym ſelfe. Alexander was verye ſorye for his deathe whyche he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignacion. For afterwardes it appeared through the ouermuche reioyſing of hys enemies, that he hadde bene falſely accuſed. The Embaſſadours of the Indians that were dymiſſed home, within a fewe daies after returned agayne, preſenting vnto Alexander .ccc. horſes, a thouſande and thirtye wagons euery one drawen with foure horſes, certein veſtures of linnin cloth. M. Indiantargettes, & an hundred talentes of white Iren, both lyons of a rare bygnes, and Tigres that were made tame, the ſkinnes of great Lyzardes, and ỳ ſhelles of certayne fiſhes. The kyng then commaundyd Craterus to conduct his army a long the riuer, wherupon he ſayled, and he enbarking ſuche as were wont to accompany him, with the ſtreame paſſed into the boundes of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, whych was a nacion of greate power, not ruled by kynges, but by a gouernement of the poeple. They had gatheryd together .vi. M footemen and .vi. M horſemen, and .v. C armed wagons, and hadde choſen thre captaines that were approued men of warre. But when ſuch as inhabited

imbeſealed

Note

Sabzacans

habited nerte vnto the riuer (the bankes beyng full of villages) saw all the riuer so farre as they could viewe ouerspreade with shippes, and the armoure glisteryng of so manye men of warre, they were amased wyth the straungnes of the sight, and thought that some armye of the Goddes or elles Bacchus (whose name was famous emõges those nacions) had bene come emõges them. The crye of the men of warre with the clashyng of the oores, and the straung noyse of the mariners exhortyng one another, filled full their fearefull eares. They ranne therefore emonges their countreymen whiche had assembled their force, declaryng their madnes if they would contende wyth Goddes. For they sayed the shyppes coulde not be numbred, that caried those inuincible people. Wyth whyche woordes they put suche feare emonges the menne of warre of their owne nacion, that they sente immediatelye Embassadours to yelde them selues. When he had receiued their submission, he came the fourth daye into an other countrey, the people wherof durst no more withstand him the the reste did, and there he builded a citye whiche he named Alexandria, and frõ thence entred into a countrey the inhabitours wherof be called Mulycans. There he vnderstode by the accusacion of the Caramylidans that Deitricles (whom Alexander had appointed lieutenaunt emõges them) had ruled in exceslue pryde and couetousnes, & therfore cõmaunded him to be put to death. And Oratres lieutenaũt of the Bactrians beyng also accused, was not onely acquited, but also had a greater rule cõmitted vnto him. Whẽ he had subdued ỹ vttermost partes of ỹ Mulicãs, he put a garrison in their citye, and wente from thence to another Nacion of the Indians called Pzestians, of whome Porticanus

Lacsinge

Immunible

Mulicans Caramylidans.

Porticanus kyng of the Pzestians.

Porticanus was kyng, which with a great power gote him selfe into a strong citye, whiche Alexander wanne the thyrde daye after he beganne his siege. Upon the takyng of the towne, Porticanus fledde into the castle and sent Embassadours to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the Castle fell wyth a greate crashe, by the ruynes wherof the Macedons gote into the castle, where Porticanus which with a fewe standyng at defence, was slayne. The castle beyng rased and all that were wyth
Saba. in solde as slaues. Alexander came into the boundes of Saba, where besides many holdes that yelded vnto hym, he toke the strongeste Citye of that Countrey by force of a myne. It seamed a monstruous thing vnto the Indians, (beynge ignorannte of suche poleries of warre) for armed men to come forthe of the grounde in the middes of their citye, wher as there appeared before no signe of eny way vnder ỹ earth. Chitarcus doth write, that there were foure score thousande Indians slayne in that countrey, besides manye prysoners solde
Python. as slaues. The Musicans in the meane tyme rebelled, for the oppression of whom, Python was sent thither, who toke the Prynce of the nacion prysoner; and brought him to Alexander, whom he caused to be hanged vpon a crosse as the auerthoure of the reuolt, which done, returned againe to the ryuer where as he hadde willed his naure to tarye for hym. The fourth daye after passynge downe the streame, he came to a towne at
Gamos. the entrey of the kyngdome of Samus. The kyng wherof had newelye yealded hym selfe, but the Cytezens dyd shutte their gates, and wouldе not be at commaundemente. Whose small number Alexander re-

guar-

so little that he sente fiue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the skyrmishe, to the intente by retiring little and little they myght drawe them out of their strength, thinkyng that they would folowe in the chase when they shoulde see their enemies flyenge. The Agryans did as it was appointed them, for when they hadde once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backes, and the Indians folowed them, till they came to the embushemente where the kynge laye. The the Agrians turned, and the fight was renued again so that of three thousand Indians there were slayne hundred slayne, and a thousand taken, the rest recouered agayne the Citye. But the ende of the victorye was not so pleasaunt as it appeared in the beginnyng, for the Indians hadde so inuenymed their swordes, that suche as were hurte dyed of their woundes. And the Phisicions coulde not deuise the cause of so straunge a death, for euen the very lyght hurtes were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander throughe hys rashenes myghte haue come wythin that daunger, which by chaunce fyghtyng emõges the thyckest escaped vnhurte. Ptolomeus was lyghtlye wounded vpon his left shoulder. who beyng in greater daungier, then the greatnes of hys wounde shewed, caused the kynge to be carefull of hym. For he was neare of hys kynne, and as some thought Philippe was hys father, but it is certayne that hys mother was Philippes cõcubyne. He was one of thẽ that had the charge of the kynges persone, a valiaunt man of warre, & yet more famous in the faculties of peace. He was moderate both in his apparayle and lyuing, liberall, easye to be spoken to, and wythout enye suche height of minde, as is wonte to be in men discended of

Inuenomed

Ptolomeus.

Note

bloud royall, by reason of whiche qualities, it is vncertayne whether he was better beloued with the king, or wyth the rest of men. That was the fyrste occasion he had to proue how the mindes of mē were affectionate towardes him, for euen in that daunger the Macedōs beganne to deuyne of hys fortune, whereunto afterwardes he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptolomeus, then of the kynge hym selfe, who vsed hym so familiarlye, that when he was wearied eyther wyth trauayle, or care of mynde, woulde sit for hys solace wyth Ptolomeus, and at that time caused hys bedde to be brought into hys owne chambre. When Ptolomeus was layde there, hefell sodeynely in a profounde sleape, in the whyche it seamed that a dragon offred to hym an herbe oute of hys mouthe for the healyng of hys wounde. and takyng awaye of the venyme. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and shewed bothe the colour and fashion of the herbe affirming that he coulde knowe it, if eny man coulde fynde it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the woūd the payne streightwayes ceassed, and the skarre wythin short space was closed. When the Indians were disapoynted of the hope thei had conceyued thatwaye, they yelded them selues and their cytie. From thence Alexander wente into the next countrey called Pathalia, the kinge whereof called Meres left the citie and fledd in to the mountaynes, so that Alexāder toke the same, and destroyed al the countrey, fynding both a wonderfull pray of sheape, of cattayle, and of corne.

Meres kyng of Pathalia

There he toke Pilotes that knewe the Ryuer, and came vnto an Iland whych stode in the middes of the streame, where he was compelled to remaine the lenger,

lenger. because the Pilotes beyng negligently kept, were escaped awaye. He sent therfore to seke out o= ther, but when he coulde fynde none, there entered a vehement desire into hys head to visite without enye guyde the occean Sea, and the end of the worlde, com= myttyng his owne lyfe, and the lyues of so many thou= sandes, to a ryuer whyche none of them dyd knowe. They sayled as men ignorraunte of all places they came vnto, either howe farre the Sea was distaunte from them, what nacions did inhabite the countreys there aboutes, or whether the mouth of the riuer were nauygable for Galeis or no. In all these thynges they were ledde by a blynde and doubtfull imaginaci= on, hauinge no other comforte in their rasshe en= terprise, but only that they trusted their contuniall fe= licitie. When they had gone forwardes foure hundred furlonges, the shyppemaisters told the kyng that they felte the ayre of the Sea, wherby they knewe that the Occean was at hand. Thereat he reioysed greatlye, and exhorted the mariners, that they wouldе in al that they myght, make waye wyth there oers to bring hym to the syght of the ende of the worlde, whych he had so long desired. Nowe (quod he) our glory is perfite, & hē our manhode is such that nothing can stay vs nowe ȳ worlde is come into our handes without enye further hasarde of warre or sheadyng of bloude.

Nowe synce the boundes that nature hathe wrought be so neare at hande, we shall shortly see thinges vn= knowen sauing to the immortall goddes. Yet not= wythstandyng sette certayne vpō land to take some of the countrey men, by whome he trusted to haue know= en more certaintie of the truthe. When they sear= ched out their cotagies, at length found out certaine ȳ

were hydden. Whyche beyng demaunded howe farre the sea was from them, they made aunswere that they neuer heard it named, but they sayed that within three dayes saylyng they shoulde come vnto a place, where as a brakish water did corrupt the freshe. By whyche wordes the mariners vnderstode that they mente the Sea of the nature whereof the people were ignoraunt. Then the mariners rowed cherefully, their desire growing euer the greater, as they approched nere vnto the place, whiche they hoped, to be the ende of their trauayle. The third daye they came where the sea and the riuer ioyned together, mixing with a smale floud, their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tyde was somewhat againste them, they haled towardes an other Iland standing in the myddes of the ryuer, which beyng an easy place to lande at, the Macedons ran about to seke victuales in suretie (as thei thought) being ignoraunt of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre according to the ordinarye course the tyde came from the Sea, and wyth hys force dyd driue the streame backeward, whyche at the firste beyng but stayed was afterwardes so behementlye repulced, that it caused the water to returne backwarde wyth greater fury then eny swifte streame is wont to roune. The commen sort that knewe not the nature of the Occeã, thought the same to be a wõderfull matter, and that it hadde bene a token sente to them of the goddes wrath, and whiles they were in that imagination, the Sea swelling more and more, ouerflowed the land whyche they sawe before drye, and as the water rose the shippes mounted, and all the nauy was desperkled here and there. Suche as were vpõ land were amased with ỹ sodeinenes of the thing,

The nature of the occeã was vnknowen to the Macedons

and

and ran from al partes in great feare vnto their shippes. But in a tumulte hast doth hurte, & giue the impediment. Some there were that went about to set their shippes forwardes, other forbad rowing and remoued not at all. Otherwhiles they made haste awaye, and woulde not tary to take in their company, moued vnaptly, and could make no waye. Some when thei saw them presse a shipbord in such thronges, for feare of takyng into many, woulde receyue none at all. So that both multitude & smal numbre, was a let vnto ỹ haste they made. The crye that some made in bidding men tary, and the noise that other made willing them to go forwardes, with their voyces that differed, and agreyd not in one effect, take away the vse both of their sight and hearing. The mariners could not helpe ỹ matter whose wordes in the tumult coulde not be harde, nor their commaundementes obserued emonges men in feare and out of order. The shyppes therfore dashed one agaynst an other, the Ores crasshed a sonder, and euery shippe either thurste forwardes, or put backe an other. No man would haue iudged it to be one nauye, but rather two sondrye fighting a battaile togither vpon the Sea. The prores did stricke against the puppes, such as went before troubled them that came after, & the wordes of mẽ in their wrath, came vnto strypes. By ỹ time the fludde had ouer flowen al the playnes thereabout, so that nothing appeared aboue the water sauing the hilles whiche semmed lyke lyttle Ilandes, & hereunto many did swimme & lette their shippes for feare. Whiles the nauye thus dispersed a brode, partly stode a floote when they hapened in enye baley, and parte stycked vpon the grounde, if they dyd hit vpon the flattes, according to ỹ ground which was

ouerflowen: sodeinly their came an other terror greatter then the firste. For when the Sea began to ebbe the water fell backe agayne into hys wonted course wyth so great violence as it came forwardes and restored the syght of the lande, whiche before was drowned as in a depe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water fell vpon their sides, and the feldes were strowen with broken bordes and with peaces of Oares The souldiers durste not goo furth to land, and yet were in feare to tarye a shipboord loking euer forsome greatter michiefe to come, then ẏ they sawe present or paste. Thei coulde scarsly beleue that they sawe ẏ sukked, which was shipwarck vpon the land. and the Sea within a riuer. And they thought no end coulde come of this mischiefe for they knewe not that the fludde should shortly returne agayne and set their shippes aflote. And therefore they Imagined to them selues famyne and all extremities. The monsters allso of the Sea whiche after ẏ water was paste were left on drye land put them in great feare. The nyght approched, and despayre brought the kynge into agreat agonye. Yet no care coulde so ouercome his hart that was inuincible, but that he watched all night, and sente horsemen to the mouth of the riuer, to bring him word whã the tide came. He caused two shippes ẏ were broken to be amendyd, and such as were ouerwhelmed to be hoised vp againe, warning al mẽ to laye awayt and be in redines agaynst the water should rise. When he hadde consumed al that night in watching and gyuing exhortacion to his men, streightwaies the horsemen returned amayne gallop, and the fludde folowed them: which mildy encreasing began to raise agayne their shippes, and when it hadde once ouerflowen the bankes, the holle nauye began to moue. Then al the

cooste

cooke rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioysing that the souldiers and mariners made for their saulfguard whereof they were before in dyspaire. When they sawe the daungier paste they enqueryd with wonder one of an other, by what reasō the sea could so sone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that element, whiche one while disagryed, and an other whil was obedient and subiect to the time. The kyng conjecturing by the signes he had sene before, that after ỹ sonne rysyng the tyde would serue hys purpose, to preuent the matier, at midnight wyth a fewe shippes he fleted down the streame, and passing out at the mouth of the riuer, entred foure hūdred furlongs into the sea where atteyning the thing that he desired, made sacrifice to the goddes of the Sea which were worshipped in those countreyes, & returned again into his naure. From thence the next daye he returned backwardes agaynst the streame, and arriued at a salt lake, the nature wherof beynge vnknowne disceyued many that rashely enteryd into the water: for ther bodies by and by became ful of scabbes, which discease taken by some, the contagyon therof infectyd many other. But they founde that oyle was a reamedy for the same. Alexander lyeng stil wt hys army waiting for the spring time of ỹ yeare, sent Leonatus before by thei land waie he where thought to passe, for to digge welles bicause the countrey was verye drye and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cytyes, and commaunded Nearchus & Onesycritus (that were most experte of naual thinges) with his strongest shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to go so farre forwards as they myght wt suretye, for to vnderstand the nature of the sea and willed them at theyr returne to land either

Nearchus. Onesicritus

vp that riuer, or elles within Euphrates. When ỹ winter was wel passed, he burned those shippes which he occupied not, and conueyed his armye by land. After ix. encampinges he came into the coũtrey of ỹ Arabitans, and from thence in nine dayes came emonges the Gedrosians. which being a fre nacion, by a general counsayle had emonges them, yealded them selues, of whom there was not eny thinge demaunded, sauinge only victuales The. v. day he came vnto a riuer which the coũtrey mẽ cal Arabon beyond the which there laie a barein countrey greatly destitute of water, through ỹ which he passed, and entered emõges the Horitans. There he betoke the greater parte of his armye to Ephestion, & parted his souldiers that were light armed with Ptolomeus & Leonatus, and so wasted ỹ coũtrey vp thre armies at once, & toke great prayes. Ptolomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus vpon the other hand, and Alexander hym selfe in the middes. In that conntrey he builded also a cytie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabite it. From thence he came emonges the Indians, whyche lieng vpon the Sea coast, do inhabite a great coũtrey, that is waste and desert. Thei vse no traffycke, entercourse, nor cõuersacio with eny of their neighboures, but ỹ desertnes of their countrey haue made them sauage, being wild of their own nature. They ware long nailes which thei neuer cut, and long heere that was neuer clipped. Thei made their howses of the shelles of fishes, and of othere thinges that the Sea caste vp. And being clad wyth the skynnes of wilde beastes, eate fishe dryed wyth the Sunne, & fedde vpõ such mõsterous fishes as ỹ Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their vituales & first endured scarsitie, & aftewards extreame

Arabytans. Gedrosians.

Arabon.

Horitans

The famine that fell amonges the Macedons.

extreame honger, searching out in euerye place the rootes of palmes, which is ỹ only tre that groweth in that countrey. But whẽ that kind of nourishement fayled them, they killed their cariage beastes, and absteined not from their horses: whereby lackyng beastes to beare their baggage, thei were enforced to consume with fier, the spoyles of their enemyes, whyche hadde caused them to trauayle into the vttermoste boundes of the Orient. After their famine folowed a pestilence, for the vnaccustomed nourishmente of the vnholsome meates thei did eate with the trauaile of their Jorney, and the care of mynd, spread diseases emonges them, in such sort that they could neither continue in aplace, nor yet go forwardes wythout greate destruction. Honger oppressed them when they taried, and the pestilence was more behement euer as they went forwardes. The fildes therefore were strowen ful of mẽ that were halfe dead and half aliue. And such as were but smally sicke, were not hable to folowe tharmye, it marched wyth such speade: For euerye mã thought to further so much hys owne saueguard, as by makynge hast he could get before his felowes. Such as fainted and could not folowe, desired both such as they knewe and knewe not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beastes wherupõ to set them, and the souldiers could scarsly beare their owne armoure, which had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, representing before their owne eies. Wherfore whẽ thei were often called vpon, they woulde not vouchsafe once to loke backe, feare had so taken away al compassion frõ thẽ. Then thei which were lefte behind cried vpon the goddes and their king for helpe, alledgyng that they were all of one religion, which was a bande for one to relyeue another. But when they hadde cried long in vayne

vayne vnto their deaf eares through desperacion they raged, wisshing the lyke end to ther frendes and cõpanions, that they thẽ selfes endurid. The king troubled both with sorowe & wo shame, did write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians to send to him vpon Camelles, vittualles in redines to be eaten, and certifyed the princes of the countreis therabout of hys necessitye, which did not slack the tyme, but made prouision accordyng to hys wyll. Thus hys army delyuered only from famyne was brought wythin the boundes of the Godrosyans. And forasmuch as ỳ same was a countrey fertill of all thinges, he thought good to stay there awhyle, wyth reste to recouer agayne hys feble souldiers Ther he receyued letters from Leonatus how he had wonne the victorye of the Horitans, which encountred him with. viii. M. kotemen & .v. c. horsemen, and was aduertised also from Craterus howe he had taken and put in holde Ozynes and zariaspes noble men of Perce that went about to rebel. Alexander also vnderstandyng that Memnon was deade, gaue the charg of the countrey wherof he had the rule vnto Sibursius, and afterwardes went into Carmania. Astaspes was gouernour of that nacion, who being suspected of innouacion whiles Alexander was in India, mett hym on hys waye. But he dissimulyng his Ire entertained hym gentlie, & did to hym his accustumed honour, tyl such time as he had better proufe of the mattier which was layed agaynst him. When ỳ princes of India had accordyng to hys apointmente, sent out of al coũtreis vnder his Impire great plenty of horse & other beastes, both of cariage & of draughte he gaue cariage againe to all men ỳ wanted, & restored ther armour to ỳ former beutifulnes, & excellency.

Godrosyans

Ozynes. Zariaspes.

Syburcius. Carmania. Astaspes.

For

For they were come into a countrey ioyning vpon Perce, whych bothe was haboundant of all thynges, and also quietly established vnder his subiection. He thought it then a time to counterfieyt Bacchus in the glorye and fame, whiche he gotte emonges those nacions. Whither it were a triumphe ỹ Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him vsed in dronkennes: Alexander was determyned to counterfieyt hys doinges, hauynge hys mynde puffed vp aboue mānes estate. He commaunded therefore all the villagies, throught the whych he should passe to be strowne wyth flowers and garlandes, and wyne to be sett fourth before euery mans dore for all men that would drynke. He caused Wagons also to be made of largenes hable to carye great nombers, & decking thesame with precious furnimentes, the king went formeste wyth hys frendes, and next to them his guarde wearing vpō ther heades garlandes of flowers, some playyng vpon flutys and some vpon harpes, Euerye one generallye throughe tharmy decked his Chariot according to hys habilitye and substaunce, where as they geuen to banketting, did hang ther riche armour besides them. Alexander wyth such as he called to his companye, was caried in a Chariot laden wyth Cuppes of gold and other goldē vessel, he with his dronken armye, marched thus. vii. dayes togither in ostentacion of the praye they hadde gotten. Wherein they shewed suche dissolutenes. that if one. M. of ỹ subdued people, durst during that tyme haue geuen them the onset, they might haue takē thē prisoners & led thē away in triumphe. But fortune whyche hath apoynted bothe fame and estymacion to thynges, turned all this disorde vnto his glorye. For both

The tryumphe that Alexander made inhys retorne one of Inde.

bothe the age that was then, & the posteritie that came after, meruelled and toke it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolutely emonges those nacions, not yet estabblished vnder hys Empire, the barbarous people reputing hys rashenes, for an assured confidence. But sheding of bloud ensued after thys tryumphe. For prince Aspastes spoken of before) was commaunded to be put to deathe: so that hys excesse in voluptuousnes was no let vnto hys crueltye nor crueltye impediment to hys voluptuousnes.

Voluptuousnes is a prouoker of cruelte, & cruelte is no impedyment vnto voluptuousnesse.

(·.·)

¶ The tenth boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Maccdon.

ABout the same tyme, Cleandre, Scytales Agathon, & Eraction, which by the kynges appoyntment had put Parmenio to deathe, returned to hym bringyng wyth them .v. thousand fotemen and a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers that folowed them out of the prouince whereof they had the gouernaunce. Whose behauour there was such that the acceptable seruice thei had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio coulde be no satisfaction for the multitude of the offence thei had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoyle not absteyning from the Temples, nor from sacred thynges. The virgins also and greate Ladies of the countrey whom they had rauished, complayned of thē lamentyng the shame they had susteined. They vsed suche couetousnes and inordinate lust in their authoritye, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated emonges those nacions. And yet emonges al the reste Cleanders offence was moste horrible, which rauishyng a virgyn of noble bloude, gaue hyr to hys slaue to vse as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders frendes were not so much offended wyth their crueltye and folyle actes (whereof they were accused,) as wyth the remembraunce of Permenios deathe, whiche they kept in silence leste the rehersall thereof myght haue procured them fauour wyth the kynge: retoyling

Oft tymes they that be in authorite, are from vertue turned, & ofte inordinate lust, thinkinge all thinge lawfull vnto them vse.

Note.

reioyling that the kynges wrath, was fallen vpon the
ministers of his Ire, and that no powre nor auctoritye
gotten by euill meanes, could haue eny longe con-
nuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayed that the
accusers ouerslipt ỹ greatest offẽce, which was ỹ dispaire
of his saueguard. For if they hadde eyther hoped or be
leued that he shoulde euer haue returned out of In-
dia, they durste neuer (he sayd) haue cõmitted eny such
offences. He commaunded therefore them to pryson
and put. vi.. C. souldiours to death, that had bene the
mynisters of their crueltye, & they also were executed
ỹ same day, which Craterus had brought as auctours
of the rebellion out of Perce. Wythin a while after
Nearchus and Onesicritus which had ben cõmaũded
by the king to search the Ocean Sea, returned vnto
him declaring some thinges by knowledge &, some by
reporte. Thei shewed of an Iland not farre from the
mouth of Indus whiche habounded with gould, & had
no breed of horses emonges them, wherefore the inha-
bitours would giue a talent of goulde for euery horse
brought from the mayne land. They also told of great
mõsterous fishes (wherof those Seas were ful) which
caried downe with the tide, would shewe their bodies
aboue the water, as bigge as a great ship, and folowe
their nauy with a terrible noise. And when thei diued
vnderneth e the water, they troubled the Seas as
it hadde bene in a shypwracke. These were thynges
they had sene, the rest they had receyued by reporte of
thinhabiters: as howe that the redde Sea toke hys
name of kyng Erithrus, and not of the coulour of the
water. They shewed also of an other Iland not farre
from the mayne lande growyng full of palme trees.
Wher was a great wood, & in the middes thereof stode
a piller where as kinge Erithrus was buried, wyth in-
scripcion

Neither powre nor Auctoritie, that is goten by euill meanes longe continue.

A notable Justice.

Dyrede.

scripcō of such letters as be vsed in ỹ countrey. Thei added besides ỹ suchmariners as caried ỹ marchantes & the drudges of tharmie, through couetousnes of the gold which had bene repoꝛted vnto them, lāded in ỹ Iland, and were neuer sene after. Their woꝛdes moued Alexander much, and put in hym a great desire, to get moꝛe certayne knowledge of those partyes, & therfoꝛe he cōmaunded them againe to the Sea, willing ỹ they should coast the land, tyl they come win ỹ riuer of Euphꝛates, & frō thence to come vp to Babilō against the streame. The thinges were infinite ỹ he compassed in his heade. Foꝛ he determined after he had bꝛought the Sea coast of ỹ Oꝛient vnder his subiection, to go out of Siria into Affrick, foꝛ the enuie he bare to the Carthagens, purposed from thence to passe ouer the desertes of Numidia towardes Gades, where he vnderstod by the fame that Hercules had plāted his pillers, and so dꝛecting his iourney through Spaine (the which ỹ Greakes of the riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer ỹ Alpes & so into Italie, tyll he should come to the coast where the next passage was vnto Cypꝛus. Foꝛ this intent he gaue commaundement to his officers in Mesopotamia, that thei shoulde cutt downe tymber in the mount Lybanus, and conuey the same to Tapsagas a Cytye in Syꝛia. And there to make galeis of suche greatnes, that euerye one of them myghte be hable to carye. vii. Oꝛes vpon a banke, and from thence he wylled them to be conueyed vnto Babylone. He sent commaundemente to the Kynges of Cypꝛes, to furnishe them of Iren hempe. and sayles. Whyles thyese thinges were in doing he receyued letteres frō Poꝛus and Taxiles, signifieng that Abyasares was deade of a disease, and that Phelix hys lieutenaunte in those parties was slayne, and they put to death that were

Inscripsion.

The enterpuises that Alexander determined.

Endemon. were the doers therof. Alexãder therefore in the place of Phelix appointed Endemon that was captain of the
Pasargadas Thracians, and gaue Abyasares kyngdome vnto his
Orsines. sonne. From thence he came to pasargades a countrey of the Persians, whereof Orsynes was Lorde, whyche both in nobilytie and ryches, exceded al other men in those parties. as one that conueyed hys pedigree from Cirus that sometime was kynge of Perce. The riches his predecessours left him was great, and he by a long cõtinuaũce in his enheritaunce and auctorytie, had much encreased the same. He mette Alexãder comming thitherwardes, and presentyd berhe him and his frendes with giftes of sondrey sortes: whiche were a multitude of horses readye to be ridden vpon, Chariotes wrought wyth golde and siluer, precious stuffe, excellent pearles & precious stones weighty vessel of gold, robes of purple, and .iiii. thousand talentes of coyned siluer. But that his liberalitie was occasiõ of hys death. For when he had presented al the kinges frendes wyth giftes aboue their desire, he honoured not wyth enye gyftes at all Bagoas the Enuke, whõ
Bagoas their Enuk. Alexander specially fauored for ỹ vsage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonicion how much Alexãder esteamed Bagoas. But he aunswered them: that hys custome was to honoure the kynges frendes and no harlottes. For that it was not the Persians maner to haue enye in estimacion, which did effeminate them selues wyth so shamefull an abuse.

When hys wordes were reported to the Enuke, he vsed the powre whyche he had gotten wyth dishonest meanes, to the distruction of that noble and innocent mã. For he did subornate certeyn lewd persones of Orsynes countrey, to bryng in false accusacions a-

subornate.

gaynste

gaynste hym, whiche he willed them to present at suche tyme as he should appointe vnto them. In the meane season whensoeuer Bagoas gotte the kyng alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against Orsynes, euer dissimulyng the cause of his displeasure, lest therby he myght lose the credite of his false report. The king had not Orsynes yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laide agaynste him but began to growe wyth him out of estimation. His accusacion was euer so secrete, that he coulde neuerget knowlege of ỳ peril that was priuely wrought agaynst him. That impoztunate harlot in his vile conuersation had with the kyng, was myndfull euer of the malice he bare to Orsynes, whom he woulde not cease to bring in suspicion of couetousnes or of rebellion, so ofte as he saw Alexãder bent to vse him familierly. By that tyme the false accusatoꝛs were in readines, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocente: whose fatall desteny ỳ did approch could not be auoyded. It chaunsed that Alexãder caused the tombe wherin Cyrus his body was buried to be opened, pretendyng to vse certayne ceremonies for the dead. But thinkyng in verye dede that his Tombe had bene full of golde and syluer, wher of there was a constant fame emonges the Persians. But when it was viewed, there was nothynge found, but a rotten target, two Scythian bowes and a swoꝛde. Alexander therfore caused the coffyn wherin Cyrus bodye was layed, to be couered with the garmente he accustomed to weare, and sette therupon a crowne of golde, marueylyng that there was no moꝛe sumptuousnes vsed in buryal of suche a kyng, endued with so great riches lyng there, but after the common soꝛte of men. When this thyng was in doing, Bagoas

Impoꝛtunate

The vsed arte redy falsly to accuse the innocent, as they vsed ayenst Cyrus tombe newly opened by Alexãder pretendinge

A rotten target, two Scythian bowes, & a swoorde, were found in the tombe of Cyrus kyng of Persia.

what an occasion Bagoas toke to accuse Orsynes.

rode next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face and said: what maruaile is it though the sepulchres of kinges be emptye, when Lordes houses be not able to receyue the golde they haue taken out from thence. For my part I neuer saw this tombe before, but I haue heard Darius report, that there were .iii. M. talentes buried with Cyrus. Therof (qd he) proceaded Orsines liberalitie in winnyng your fauoure by the gift of the thing, which he knew he could not kepe. When he had thus stirred vp Alexanders wrathe agaynst Orsynes, he presēted them whom he had suborned to accuse him. By whose report and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so encensed agaynste Orsynes, that he was put in prison, before he coulde suspecte that he was accused. The Enuke was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death layed violent handes vpon him. Vnto whom Orsines saide: I haue heard that women in tymespast haue reigned and borne great rule in Asia, but it is now a more straung thinge, that a geldyng shoulde haue the empire in hys handes. This was the ende of the moste noble man emonges the Persians, who was not onelye an innocent in this matter, but suche one as bare singuler affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phradates which was suspected to haue gone aboute to make him selfe king, was put to death. Alexāder began thē to be much enclined to the sheadyng of bloude, & to be credulous in hearyng of euil reporte: prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mannes nature, wherin fewe men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he whiche a little before woulde not condempe Lyncestes Alexander when he was accused by two witnesses, that suffred diuers of more meane estate to be acquited, thoughe it grudged

Alexander began to be enclined to the sheadyng of bloude.

ged his minde, because they seamed not gyltye to other menne. And he whyche bestowed kyngdomes vpon his enemies whom he hadde subdued: was in the ende so muche altered from his former enclination, that agaynste his owne appetite, at the wyll of an harlote, he woulde geue kyngdomes to some, and take awaye the lyues from other. About the same tyme he receiued letters of thinges done in Europe, wherby he vnderstode that whiles he was in India, sophitus hys lieutenaūt in Thrace, he made a iourney agaynst the Getes, where by stormes and tempestes that sodainely rose vpō him, he was destroyed and all his armye. When Scuthes vnderstode the defeate of that armye, he procured the Odrisians that were his countrey men to reuolte. So that all Thrace was in maner losse therby, and Greece stode in no great suretye.

Note.

The Getes

Scuthes.

Calanus.

The writers of the actes of great Alexander make mēcion in this place of Calanus an Indian that was very famous in Philosophye, which by the persuasion of kyng Taxilis folowed Alexander, & ended hys lyfe after a straung sorte. When he had liued. lxxiii. yeares wythout eny disease, at hys commyng into Persia, he felt a payne in his bealye, wherby coniecturynge that the ende of his lyfe was come, least suche a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, shoulde be spotted wyth eny long disease, or tormented wyth the multitude of medicines which phisicios vse to minister, requyred Alexander that he myghte cause a fyre to be made, and to burne hym selfe in the same. The kyng began to dissuade him from his purpose, thinkyng to haue brought him from the doyng of so horrible an acte, but when he perceiued wyth what stedfastnes and cōstancy he stode in his entent, and that there was no waye to kepe him

Note.

enylenger in hyre. He causred a fyre to be made accor-
dyng to his will, wherinto Calanus did tyde on horse-
backe, makyng first his prayer to the goddes of his cou-
trey, and takyng the Macedons by the handes, requi-
red them that they would spende that daye pleasauntly
in banquetyng with their kyng, whom within a while
he shoulde see at Babylon. When he had spoken those
wordes, he went merelye into the fire, where as plyng
his body comely, kept stil the same gesture & countenaūce
at his death, which he was wont to vse. When the fyre
flamed the trumpettes blewe, the menne of warre ma-
king such a shoute as they accustomed goyng to ỹ bat-
taile, which rebounded vp to the skye, & the Elephātes
also made a terrible noyse. These be the thinges that
sage writers do testifie of Calanus, whiche was a no-
table ensample of an inuincible mynde, cōstantly bent
to sufferr eny aduersitie. From thence Alexander went
vnto Susa, wheras he toke to wife & lawfully maried
Statyra Darius eldest doughter. Whose yonger sister
called Drypetis he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion. And
bestowed to the nombre of .lxxx. virgins of the noblest of
all the nacions he had conquered, to the principal Ma-
cedons, & to the chiefest of his frēdes, bicause he would
not seme alone to begyn so straung a custome. These
mariages were celebrate after the Persian maner, & a
princely feast prepared at the espousailes. Wherat ther
were .lx. M. geastes, to euerye one of whom Alexander
gaue a drinkyng cuppe of golde. At the same tyme the
rulers of the cityes which Alexander had subdued and
builded, sent vnto him .xxx. M. yong souldiers ỹ were
all of one age, furnished wyth fayne armoure, apt to do
eny enterprice of the warre, whiche he called Epigoni,
that is to saye his successours. The Macedōs at theyr
cōmyng, semed to be somewhat appaled, which weried

Alexander maried Statyra Darius doughter. Drypetis.

with

with long warre, vsed often in assembles to murmure & speake mutinous wordes against the king. For that cause he had prepared these souldiours to restreine the arrogancy of other, and gaue to them great benefites. Harpalus to whom the king had committed the charge of the treasure and reuenewes at Babilon, hearyng of the actes that Alexander hadde done in subduinge the more parte of the kinges of India, and his successe to be so prosperous that nothing coulde withstande him. knowing the insaciable desire that was in Alexander to visite farre countreyes, and to encrease his glorye, thought it should be a harde matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherfore he gaue him selfe to delite and to lustes, misusyng manye that were noble and free women, walowed in all kynde of voluptuousnes. Insomuch that he sent vnto Athens for a famous harlot called Patonice, to whom he both gaue many great and princely giftes while she was aliue, and also after her death spent. xxx. talentes vpon her tombe. Hauing in these & suche other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure. When he vnderstode Alexãder to be come out of India, & to vse extreme iustice vpon his officers that misused them, of whõ they had rule, by reason he was priuy to his owne fowle cõscience, fearing the like might come to him selfe. And therfore gathering together. v. M. talentes. & vi. M. mercenary souldiers, toke ỹ way towardes Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (where as a great nũbre of the mercenary Greakes, which had bene discharged out of Asia were assembled) he left his souldiers there, & went to Athens with his money: whẽ he was come thether, great numbre of the cititezens flocked about him, more for loue of his money thẽ for his owne sake, but specially the Ora-

Martinons

Harpalus.

Renenews

Insaciable

Patonice.

Tenarod.

tours, & such as vsed to make their gaine by oracions, and persuadyng of the people, whō by small rewardes he easely corrupted, to defēde his cause with the people But afterwardes at a generall assemble vpō the matter, he was cōmaunded to depart the citie, and so returned againe emonges the Greake souldiers, by whō he was slayne. Therfore with .xxx. shipps they passed ouer to Sunium, which is a poynt of the lande in the territorye of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauē. These thinges being knowen, Alexander that was sore moued as well against the Athenians as againste Harpalus, prepared a nauye to make warre in persone immediatly against them. And as he was busied aboute the matter, he vnderstode by secrete letters, howe bothe Harpalus hadde bene in Athens and corrupted with money the chiefe of the citye. And also howe that afterwardes by a counsaile of the people, he was commaunded to depart from thence, who returnyng emonges the Greake souldiours, was slayne by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioysed Alexander, wherby he had occasion to leaue of his iourney into Europe, but he sente commaundement to all the cities of Greace, that thei should receiue againe all their banished men, except such onely as had committed enye murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greakes knewe the same to be the breach of their liberties & their lawes, & the beginnyng of their bondage, yet as men that durste not disobey his will they called home their banished men, & restored to thē such of their goodes as did remaine. Onely the Athenians, which euer defēded obstinatly the liberties of their cōmen wealth, & which had not ben accustomed to liue vnder ỹ obediēce of eni king, but vnder ỹ lawes & customes of their coūtrey: wold not agre, ỹ such dredge

Sunium.

Territorie

The death of Harpalus

of

of men ſhould lyue emonges them, but did driue them out of their boūdes: redy to ſuffre eny thing, rather thē to receiue ſuch, as ſometime were the raſcal of al their citie, and then the refuſe of al the outlawes. The tyme was come that Alexander minded to diſmyſſe hys old ſouldiers, & ſende them into their countrey, but he willed firſt .xiii. M. fotemē & .ii. M horſemē to be choſen out to remaine ſtill in Aſia, which he iudged might be kept wyth a ſmal army, becauſe (he thought) ỹ guarriſons he had plāted in many places, & the cities which he had newly builded & filled with inhabiters ſhould be hable to ſtay ſuch as would attēpt eny rebellion. But before he would make eny deuiſion of ſuch as ſhoulde depart, & remaine, he cauſed a proclamacīō to be made ỹ al ſouldiers ſhold declare their debtes (wherwith he perceiued many of them ſore burdened) & though their debte did riſe through their owne diſorde & exceſſe, yet he was determined to diſcharge euery man. But the ſouldiers thinking it had bene but a deuice, to try out the prodigal frō the reſt, delated the time, & brought not in their declaracīōs. The king perceiued ſhame to be the let therof, & no diſobedīēce or ſelf wil. And therfore cauſed tables to be ſet vp throughout his cāpe, & .x. M talentes to be brought furth. Of all whyche treaſure when their debtes were payd accordyng to the iuſt declaration, there remained of talētes no more but .cxxx. Wherby it appeared that they whiche were the cōquerours of ſo many riche nacions, brought out of Aſia more glory then ſpoyle. But after it was once knowen that ſome ſhould be deſpatched, and ſome remaine ſtil, they thought the kynge woulde haue eſtabliſhed hys kingdome perpetually in Aſia. Wherefore like madde men, and vnmyndful of al diſciplyne of warre, they fylled the campe ful of ſedicious wordes, and came to the

Alexander paied al his ſouldiours debtes.

130. Talents.

A mutinee monges ỹ ſouldiers.

Arrogantlie

kyng more arrogantly, and with greater rigoure then euer they did before: all with one voyce, requiring to be discharged, shewyng for the the hoores of their heere, and their faces disfourmed w̄ scarres. And herein they coulde not be stayed, either by chastisment of their officers, or by enye reuerence of their kynge, but when he would haue spoken vnto them, they woulde not suffer him to be hearde, but disturbed his tale with their tumultuous crye, & violent throng: protestyng opēly that they woulde neuer moue one foote forwardes to enye place, excepte it were towardes their owne countrey. After a great space because they thought that Alexander woulde encline to their purpose, they kept silence, and stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexāder ander spake vnto thē (what meaneth this sodaine trouble of minde, this so malypart and vnlawfull libertye? I am afraied to speake vnto you, you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes me. I am nowe become a king at the appoyntmēt of my people, you haue neither lefte me the libertye to knowe you, to exhorte you, nor to behold you. Being determined to send some into their coūtrey before, & to bring the rest w̄ me shortly after. I see them as well that shalbe now dispatched crieng and mutinyng, as those that I appoynt to come with me. What a matter is this? Their crye is al a like, notwithstandyng that their cause is diuers. I woulde fayne knowe whether they complayne that departe, or they that tary styl? When he had spoken those wordes, they cryed all as it had bene wyth one mouth, that they complayned euery man. Then he said: truly it can not be so nor I can not be perswaded that you should al be greued for the cause ye declare, seyng the case toucheth not the moste parte of you, for I haue appointed more

Alexanders wordes vnto his souldiours.

to

to depart then to remaine still. There must neades be some greater mischiefe thē appeareth, that shold turne you al from me. When was it euer seene, that an whole army hath forsaken their king. The slaues runne not from their maisters all at once, but there is alwayes a shame in some to leaue them, whom the rest forsakes. But why do I forget that you be mad in your mindes: or why go I about to cure you that be vncurable: I cō dempne from hencefurth al the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worcke no more wyth you, as wt my souldiers (seyng ye wil not be mine, but with men vngrateful and vnmindful of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnes, is euen the aboundaunce of your prosperitie, wherby you forget your old estate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue spent youre lyues in your former beggery, seing you cā better beare aduersitie, thē prosperous fortune. Behold, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illirians, & the Persians, do now disdaine Asia, & the spoiles of so many naciōs. You which vnder Philip went haulke naked, now ye contempne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure eny lenger to beholde the sight of golde & siluer. You desire againe youre wodden dyshes, youre targettes made of wickers, and your swordes couered with rust. I receiued you in thys simple estate, with .v. C. talentes in debte, when al my furnimentes exceaded not in valure .lx. talentes. Thys was the foundacion of my actes, where wyth (wythout enuye be it spoken) I haue subdued the greatest parte of the world. Are you weary of Asia, whyche haue ministred vnto you occasion of such glory, that by the greatnes of youre actes, ye be made equal vnto the goddes: do you al make such hast

into

into Europe, to forsake me ỹ am your king? The more part of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare youre charges ther, if I of my beneuolence hadde not paide your debtes? Are you not ashamed that haue robbed al Asia, to beare the spoiles of so many nacions wtin your belies, and now to returne home to youre wiues & children, vnto whom there be but few of you that are able to shewe eny rewardes of your victory. For manye of you shalbe cõpelled to gage your armour. If ye forsake thys good hope, ye myght receiue at my handes. These be the good men of warre ỹ I shal want, whiche of all their riches haue nothyng left them, but only their cõcubines. The way lieth open for your depature, get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persias shal defende your backes when ye be gone. I wil hold none of you, deliuer mine eyes ye vngrateful countremẽ, of the sight I se of you. Shal your parentes & childrẽ receiue you with ioye, when they shal se you returne wout your king? Shal they couet to mete such as be fugitiues, & forsakers of their prince? I truly shal triũphe vpon your departure, & whersoeuer you shal be, I shal desire to be reuenged, honoring alwayes & preferryng before you, those whiche ye haue lefte here with me.

Nowe you shal knowe of what force an armye is ỹ lacketh a kyng, & what moment doth consist in me alone. When he had spoken those wordes he leaped in a fury frõ the iugement seate, and ranne into the thronge of the armed mẽ, whereas he toke with his owne handes such as had mutined moste agaynste hym. Of whome there being none ỹ durst make resistaunce, he deliuered yiii. to hys garde for to be safelye kepte. Who woulde thinke that an assemble whiche a little before had spo-

ken

ken vnto their prince with such fiersenes and rigour, could haue bene so sodenly appalled for feare: Whyche seing their cõpanions led to executiõ, durst not moue, nor make eny attempt. But the inordinat libertie they vsed before, & their seditious violence was then so staied: ỹ neuer one of thẽ durst resist the kynge running emonges them, but were al astoined for feare, and stode like men amased, with doubtful imaginacions lokyng what he would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to hys name, because the naciõs that liue vnder kinges, are wont to honour thẽ as goddes, or were it the maiestie of his persone, or els his owne assured constãcy executing his auctoritie with such violence, that put them in feare: thei shewed a notable ensample of pacièce. For they remained not only without sturre or mocion at the execution of their companions, (whome they knewe to be put to death in the night time), bnt also were more diligent in doynge their duties then euer they were before: pretermittyng nothing partaining to obedience, and natural affectiõ towardes their prince. For the next day whẽ thei came to ỹ court, and were not suffered to enter, but al shute out sauynge the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorowful crye and lamentacion whyche spreade ouer all the campe, protesting that they would not liue, if the kyng continued still in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in al thynges that he had once conceiued in his heade, commaunded al the Macedons to kepe stil their cãpe, and assembled the souldiers straungers together to whom by an Interpretour he made thys Oracion. At such tyme as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bringe manye noble nacions, and greate power of men, vnder myne Empire and dominion wherin

Pretermittynge

Alexanders Oracion to the straũge soudiers.

wherin I was not deceiued. For besides that the same reported you to bee men of valure, I haue founde in you one thinge more: which is an incomperable obedience, fidelitye, and affection towardes your prince. I thoughte voluptuousnes had ouerflowen all vertue emonges you, & that through your great felicite, ye had bene drowned in pleasures. But I find it otherwyse, and perceyue that none obserue the discipline and order of the warres better then you do, nor execute the same wyth more actiuitie nor stoutnes. And beynge manfull and valiaunt menne, ye embrace fidelitie no lesse then you do the rest. This thinge I do but nowe acknowledge, but I knewe it long ago. Whiche was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of your nacions to be my souldiours, and did incorporate you emonges myne owne people, causinge you to vse the same habite, and the same armoure. Your obedience and pacience towardes the authoritie, appeareth muche better in you then in them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my selfe in mariage the doughter of Oratres that it a Persian, not disdayning to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardes desiring more aboundauntlye to encrease the issue of my bodye, I toke to wyfe the daughter of Darius, and was the authoure that my neare frendes likewyse shoulde beget children vpon captyues: myndynge by this holy couenaũt to exclude the difference betwene the victorious and the vaynquished. Wherfore you must now thinke that you be not souldiours vnto me adopted, but more naturall. And that Asia and Europe is one kyngdome wythout eny difference. I haue geuen vnto you armoure after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought all straungnes and noueltie into a custome,

Incomperable.

and

and now ye be both my countreymen & my souldiours al thinges receyuinge one forme and fashion. I haue not thought it vnsemely for the Persians to shadow ỹ customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Persians: seinge they ought to be vnder one law & custome that shuld liue vnder one king. When he had made this oration, he cõmitted the custody of his person vnto the Persians, he made them of his garde & his officers of iustice. By whom when the Macedons, which had geuen occasion of this sedition were led bound vnto execution, one of theim that was more auncient and of greater estimacion then the rest spake after thys manet. How longe wil you thus geue place vnto your wil, in executinge vs after the straungers manet? Youre souldiours and countreymen be drawen to execution by their owne prisoners before their cause is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at leaste waye chaunge the ministers of youre wrath. This was a good admonishment, if he had bene patient to heare the trueth. But his wrathe was growen into a wodnes, so that when he sawe them whyche hadde the charge of the prisoners staye a little at ỹ matter, he caused the prisoners to be tumbled into the riuer, and there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelte of thys punishmente, the souldiours were not sturred to eny sedicion, but repayred by rowtes vnto theyr capitaynes, and vnto suche as were neare aboute the kyng: requiryng that if there yet remained eny infected with ỹ same offence, that he should cõmaund them to be put to death, proferinge theyr bodies to bee punished and executed at his owne wyl. After it was knowen that Lieutenaunte shippes were geuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers

orders

Many innocente are drawen to deathe by reason of Lawe, there of ranke Beinge considerde, vnder Tyrante raigne.

Rowtes.

orders, with such names geuen vnto thē as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected wyth reproche, they could not then eny lenger conteyne theim
Dolens. selues, nor suffer the dolour they hadde conceyued in their hertes, but wyth a greate thronge pressed to the courte, wearynge onely their nethermost garmentes, and leauyng their weapons wythout the gate in tokē of repentaunce. There wyth weapynge and al tokens of humilitie, they made requeste to be admitted to the kynges presence, & that he woulde vouchsafe to pardō their offence, pacifiynge his wrath wyth the death of so many as he shoulde thinke good, rather then to suffer
Alexander was reconsiled to hys souldiours. them to lie in such reproch: whiche excepte he woulde release, they protested they woulde neuer depart out of the place. When those thynges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the courte gates to be opened, and came forth emonges them. Whereas beholdyng their lamentation and repentaunce, their miserable behauoure and affliction, he coulde not abstayne to weape longe tyme wyth theim, and in consideration of their modestie, forgaue them their former offences. And after
Temperatly he had temperately tolde them their faultes, and agayne comforted them wyth gentle wordes, he discharged many from the seruice of the warres, and sēt thē home liberallye rewarded: writinge to Antipater his lieutenaunt in Macedon, that he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters at triumphes, and open playes, where as they shoulde sit wyth garlandes on their heades, wyllynge that their children after their deathes, should enioye their fathers wagies.

He appointed Craterus to be their ruler, to whō in the place of Antipater he had committed the gouernemēt of Macedon, Thessalie, and Thrace, sendinge for Antipater

tipater to repaire vnto him with a supplie of yong soldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before both from hym, and Olimpias his mother, whereby dissencion appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater that he wente aboute to make hym selfe kyng. And Antipater did write howe Olympias dyd manye thynges otherwyse then dyd become her. Antipater dyd take his callyng awaye so greuously in hys heart, that he conspired therupon to poyson Alexander: who hauing accomplyshed the matters that before be mencioned, went to Ecbatan (beyng in Media) to set order in the necessarye affaires of hys Empire, and there ordeyned solempne triumphes and feastynge. It chaunsed Ephestion whom the kynge specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to die aboute the same time of a feuer. Whose death Alexander toke more sorowfully then can well be credited, committyng in hys doloure manye thynges that were vnseamynge for the mateste of a Prynce. He commaunded Ephestions phisition to be hanged, as though he had dyed throughe his negligence. He laye embracyng of the deade bodye and could hardely be taken awaye by hys frendes but continued hys sorowe nyght and day. There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, whych be scarsely credible. But it is certayne that he commaunded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his burial and making of his tombe, aboue .xii. M. talentes. As he was returnynge to Babilon, the Caldian Prophetes met him on the waye, exhortynge hym that he shoulde not enter into the citye, for that it was signified, that if he wente thether at that tyme, he shoulde be in greate peryll of hys lyfe. Notwythstandyng

Olimpias Alexanders mother.

The death of Ephest.

vnseamynge

dyng

ding he regarded not their admonisshmentes, but wet forwardes in his iourney, accordyng as he had appointed. For he vnderstode that Embassadours were come thither from al regions tarrynge for his commynge. The terrour of his name was so spreade throughe the worlde, that all nacions shewed an obsequiousnes towardes hym, as thoughe he had bene appoynted to be their kynge. That caused hym to make hast towardes Babilon, to kepe there as it were a Parliamente of the whole worlde. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadours gentlie, and afterwardes dispatched them home againe. There was aboute the same tyme a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whereunto the kynge beynge bidden, came thyther wyth such as were appoynted to kepe hym company. But he had not so sone dronke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunte as though he had bene stryken to the harte. And beynge caried out of the feaste halfe deade, was so tormented wyth payne, that he required a swerde to haue kylled hym selfe. Hys frendes dyd publysh abrode dronckennes to be the cause of his dissease but in verye dede it was prepensed treason, ỹ infamye whereof the power of his successours did oppresse. The poyson prepared longe before was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sonne, which wt hys brethren Philippe and Iolla were wonte to serue the kynge at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not commit the same poyson to eny personne excepte it were to Thessalus or to hys brethren. Phylyppe therefore and Iollas, whyche were wonte to take the saye of the kynges cupp haupnge the poyson readye in colde water, mixed it wyth the wyne after they had tasted it. When the forth daye was come the souldiours

Thessalus Medius.

Alexander was poysoned.

partly

the ſouldiours, partely for that they ſuſpected he hadde bene dead, and partely becauſe they coulde not endure to wante longe his ſyghte, came ſorowfully vnto the courte, deſiryng to ſee the kynge, whyche by his commaundemēt were admitted vnto his preſence by ſuche as had the charge of his perſone.

When they beheelde him lyynge in that caſe, they made great ſorowe and lamentation, for he ſemed not to theim to be the ſame their kyng, whome they were wonte to ſee, but rather a deade corſe. If their griefe were great, the ſorowe of theim that ſtode nexte to the bedde appeared muche more, whome when Alexander beheelde lamentynge after that ſorte, he ſaied vnto thē. When I ſhall departe, you ſhall finde a kyng worthye for ſuche men as you be. It is a thing incredible, howbe that he durynge the tyme, the ſouldiours of hys whole armye came to viſite him, he neuer altered countenaunce nor geſture, but continued in that kinde of preſente he gaue vnto the firſte, vnto the laſte man. When he had diſmiſſed the multitude, as thoughe he had bene diſcharged of all debte of lyfe, he laye downe agayne to reſt his weake body, & his voyce beginnyng to fayle him, cōmaunded his frendes to come neare about hym. Then takyng his ryng from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therwith a commaundemente that hys bodye ſhoulde be conueyed to Hammon. They demaunded to whom he would leaue his kyngdome. He ſaied: to the worthieſt. By whyche wordes it appeared that he forſawe the contention that was lyke to enſue vpon his death. Perdicas more ouer demaunded of hym when he woulde haue deuyne honours done vnto him. At ſuch time (quod he) as you ſhal finde your ſelues in felicitie. Theſe were the laſte

G.i. wordes

wordes Alexander spake, and shortely after he dyed. Immediatlye after his deathe, the courte was full of howlynge, lamentynge, and sorowe makynge, and by and by as it hadde bene in a desert or a place solitarye, all thinges were whist, and a sorowfull silence was spredde ouer all: euerye manne beyng conuerted into imaginacion what shoulde become of the matter. The young menne of the nobilitie that were accustomed aboute Alexanders persone, could not beare the greatnes of their dolour, nor kepe them selues within compasse of the courte, but ranne about as menne out of their wyttes, wherby the citye was filled with heauines and complaynte, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorow is wont to minister in such a case. Suche therfore as were without the Courte, vnderstandynge this matter, as well Macedons as other, came runnynge thether, where as the conquerours from the conquered, nor the victorers from the vanquished coulde not be discerned, the sorowe was so indifferent to thē al. The Persians called vpō their iust and mercifull Lorde, and the Macedons made supplication to him that was so valeaunte and gracious a kyng. And thus there was a certaine contention of sorow emonges thē. Men did not vse their only wordes of griefe and heauines, but also of grudge and indignacion, that so young a Prynce beyng in the floure of his age, and of his fortunate successe, shoulde by the enuye of the Goddes, be so taken out of this worlde. They called to remembraūce what a cherefulnes they had alwayes sene in his countenaunce, bothe when he led thē to the battayle, when he besieged or assaulted eny citye, or when he woulde gene eny cōmendation to the worthye in enye assemble. Then the Macedons

repented

repented that euer they hadde denied hym deuine honoures, confessyng them selues bothe wicked and vngratefull for depriuynge hym of enye name wherof he was worthye. And when they had continued long in the veneration and desire of him that was deade, then they began to pitye their owne case, whiche commyng out of Macedon, were passed the riuer of Euphrates, emonges the middes of their enemies that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernement. They saw themselues left destitute, & the empire without eny certaine heyre, for want of whom euery one would go about to drawe the power of the state vnto his priuate behofe. And then they began to conceyue and forsee in their myndes the ciuill warres that did ensue, and that they should be enforced to shede their bloud againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some suche one that woulde go about to make him selfe kyng: wherby their olde scarres should breake out againe into newe woundes. And more ouer ỳ such as by reason of their age had bene discharged from the warres by their noble & righteous kyng, should now be enforced to spend their liues in the quarell of some such one as was but his souldiour. Whiles thei were in these imaginaciõs, the night came on, & encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, & the Babilonians loked ouer the walles, peping out frõ the toppes of their houses, to spye some certeintie how ỳ mãtter went. There was none that durst kindle eny light. And because the vse of the eye did faile, they layed their eares to heare the rumours and wordes that were spoken. And many times they were afraied whẽ no cauke was, & when they met together in the narow stretes or darke lanes, they wold be amased, & suspect ech other as enemyes.

The Persians after their accustomed maner clypped their heere, and wyth their wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mournyng garmentes, with vnfayned affection: not as a cõquerour, and one that lately had bene their enemye, but as their rightwise and naturall kyng. For they beyng accustomed to lyue vnder a kyng, could thinke no man more worthy then he to rule ouer them. Thys sorowe was not conteyned wythin the walles of the Citye, but streyghtwayes spreade ouer all the countrey theraboutes. And the fame of so greate a mischiefe flyynge throughoute Asia, brought sone tidynges therof vnto Darius mother. She at the firste reporte tare a sunder the garmẽt she ware, and put on mourning apparaile, she pulled her heere, and fell downe grouelyng vpõ the earth. One of her neces sate by her mournynge the deathe of Ephestion whom she hadde maried, and in an vniuersall heauines, bewayled the cause of her priuate sorowe. But Syisigambis alone susteyned al their miseries, & bewayled both her owne case and her neces: her fresshe sorowe causynge her to call to mynde thynges paste. A man woulde haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had bene newly slayne, and that she had celebrated the funerales of bothe her sonnes together.

The behauiour of Darius mother vpon the death of Alexander.

She did not onely lament the deade, but sorowed also for the liuyng. Who shall nowe (quod she) take care of these young women? or who can be like vnto Alexãder? nowe we be taken prisoners agayne, nowe we be newly fallen from our dignitye and estate. After Darius death, we founde one to defende vs. But nowe sence Alexander is gone, who wyll haue respecte of vs? Emong these thinges she called to minde, how Ochus the cruell kynge had slayne her father, and foure score

of her

of her brethren in one daye, and that of seuen children borne of her bodye, there was but one of theim lefte alyue. Whe sawe that fortune had aduaunced Darius and caused him to florysshe for a tyme, to the entente he myght ende his life by greater cruelte. Finallye she was so ouercome wyth sorowe, that she couered her head turning her selfe from her nese and nephew that sate at her fete, and abstayning both frō meate & from beholdynge of the light, ended hir life the fift day after she was determined to dye. This her death was a greate argument of the clemencye Alexander hadde shewed towardes her, and of the iustice towardes all the captyues seyng that after Darius death she could abyde to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue eny lenger.

A discourse of Alexanders vices and his vertues

Considerynge Alexander rightwisslye, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices either to hys youth, or to the greatnes of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceadyng sufferaunce of trauaile. He was endued with manhode, excellinge, not onely emonges kynges: but also emonges such as had no other vertue nor qualitye. He was of suche liberalitye that oftentymes he gaue greater thinges, then the receyuers could haue wyshed for of God. The multitud of kyngdomes ỹ he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken theim by force, was a token of his clemencye towardes them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempte of deathe, the feare whereof doth amase other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory & worldely prayse thē reasō would beare: so was it tollerable in so young a man, enterpasyng so great and notable actes. The reuerence & affection he bare

towards his parentes, appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olimpias to immortalitye, and in that he so sore reuēgyd Philips death. How gētle and familiar was he to wardes his frēdes, and how benyuolent to warde his souldiours. He had a wisedome equall to the greatnes of his harte, and suche a policy and forecast, as so young yeares were scarsely able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures and luste, lesse then nature desieryd, vsyng no pleasure but that was lawefull: these were wonderful greate giftes and vertues.

But in that he comparyd him selfe to the Gods, couetyng deuyne honours, and beleued ỹ Diactes that perswaded such thinges, that he was offendyd wt thē that woulde not worship him, and geuen more behementlye to wrath then was expedient. That he alteryd his habite and apparaile into ỹ fashiō of straungers, & cōterfaited the custome of them he had subdued, and despised before his victory: were vices to be attributyd to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youthe stirred him to anger, and to the desyre of drinkyng: so age might haue mytigated againe those faultes. Notwithstandyng it must nedes be confessyd, that though he preuailed muche by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which only of al mortal men, he had in his owne power. Howe oftē did she deliuer him from the poynte of death? Howe often did she defende him wyth perpetuall felicitye, when he hadde rashelye brought him selfe in peryll? And when she poynted an ende to his glorye, she euen then was contente to finysshe his life, slayinge his fatall desteny tyll he had subdued the Orient, visited the Occean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to performe. To this so great a dyng, and so noble a conquerour

a[illegible]

a succeſſour was loked for. But the matter was of o-
ther great importaunce for eny one man to take vpon
hym: Alexanders name and renowne was ſo great
emonges all nations, and they were counted moſte
noble that might be partakers (though it were neuer
ſo lyttle) of his proſperous fortune.

But to returne agayne to Babilon from whence
this degreſſiō hath ben made: They which had ỹ guard
& cuſtodie of Alexanders perſone called into the court
ſuche as hadde bene his chiefe frendes and captaines
of the men of warre: after whō there folowed a great
multytude of ſeuldiours, deſiering to know who
ſhoulde be ſucceſſoure vnto Alexander. The throng
of the ſouldiours was ſuche, that many of the capi-
taynes were excluded, and coulde not enter into the
court. A proclamation therfore was made whe-
by all men were forbiden to enter, excepte ſuche as were
called by name. But because their commaundemente
ſeemed to want auctoritie, it was little regarded: the
multitud at the firſt began to make a greuous ſorowe
and lamentation. But immediatly the deſire they had
to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the matter, ſtopped their
lamentacion, and made ſilence. Then Perdicas
brought forth in ſight of al the people ỹ kinges chayne
of eſtate, wherin Alexanders Diademe, hys veſtures
regall and hys armour was layde, emonges the which
ornamentes Perdicas alſo layde downe the kynges
ſignet, deliuery'd to hym the day before: at the ſyght
wherof they began to wepe, and to renue againe their
ſorow. The ſaide Perdicas: Lo here is the ring whe-
to he was wont to ſeale ſuch thinges was pertayned to
the gouernemēt of his Empire, which as he deliuered
to me, I ſo reſtore it agayne to you. And although no
aduerſitye can be deuiſed by the Goddes (were they

The aſſēble after the death of Alexander.

Excluded.

Perdicas wordes.

neuer so muche offended) comperable to this. Yet cõsiderynge ỹ greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we muste thinke that as the Goddes sent such a man so to raigne in the worlde his tyme beyng expired that was appointed, thei haue called him again to the place from whence he came. Forsomuche therfore as none other thing remaineth of him emonges vs but only ỹ whyche is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortalitie: let vs performe the due pertayninge bothe to hys bodye, and to his name: remembringe in what estate we be, emonges what kynde of people, and what a kynge, and gouernour we haue losse. We muste debate & deuise howe to mayntayne our conquest emonges them of whõ it is gotten: For the doing wherof, it is nedefull for vs to haue an heade. But whether the same shall be one, or manye, it dothe consiste in you. You are not ignoraunt that a multitude of mẽ of warr wythout an heade, is a body wythout life. Sire monethes be nowe passed synce Roxane was conceiued wyth chylde, we desire of God that she maye bryng forth a sonne, whiche maye enioye thys kyngdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane season appoynte you, of whome ye wyll be gouerned. When Bardicas hadde spoken these wordes, Nearchus rose vp, and saied: There is no man can denye but that it were mete for Alexanders succession to continue in the bloude royall, but to loke for a kyng that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer one that is in his beyng already, is neither expedient for such mẽ as the Macedons be, nor yet dothe serue the necessitie of the tyme.

Nearchus woldes.

There is a sonne whiche Alexander begote by Barsines, what should let why the Diademe may not be set on his head? Nearchus tale was acceptable to no mã.

Barsines.

Therfore

Therfore ꝑ ſouldiers according to their cuſtome claſhed their ſpeares againſt the targets, & cõtinued makyng of a noyſe. And when he woulde not forſake his oppynion, but obſtinately maintened the ſame, the matter had almoſt bredde a ſedition: which thing perceiued by Ptolomeus, he ſpake after this maner.

Neither the ſonne of Rorane nor Barſines, is an iſſue mete to reigne ouer the Macedones, whoſe names we ſhold be aſhamed to mencyon within Europe, their mothers beinge captiues. Haue we ſubdued the Perſians to that ende, to become ſubiect to ſuche as be deſcended of them? That was the thinge which Darius and Xerxes beynge kynges of Perce wrought for in vaine, with ſo many milyons of mẽ of warre. and with ſo many naueis. This therfore is my oppynion, that Alexanders Chayer of eſtate be ſet in the middes of the court, and that al ſuch as were wont to be of counſaile with him, ſhall aſſemble together ſo often as eny matter requireth to be cõſulted vpon. And that ꝑ captains and rulers of the armye ſhalbe obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do aſſent. There were ſome agreyd wyth Ptolomeus, but fewe with Perdicas. Then Ariſtonus ſpake in this wiſe: When Alexander was demaunded, to whome he woulde leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſẽ. Who iudged he worthieſt but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his ryngꝭ. This was not done at ſuch time as he was alone, but when all his frendes were preſente, he did caſte his eyes emonges them, and at length chaſe out on to whom he deliuered it. For this cauſe I think it ryght that ꝑ kingdome be cõmitted vnto Perdicas.

Ptolomeus worde.

Ariſtones worde.

many

many agreed to his opinion, so that the assemble cried to Perdicas that he shoulde come forth emonges thē, and take vp the kinges signet. But he stayed betwene ambition and shamefastnes, thinkyng the more modestye he vsed in getting the thynge whiche he coueted, they woulde be so muche the more earnest to profer it hym. When he had stande a good while at a staye doubtyng what to do, at lenghe he drewe backe, and stode behinde them whiche sate nerte vnto hym.

Meleagers wordes.

When Meleager that was one of the capytaynes sawe the slay that Perdicas made, he toke courage vpō his feblenes & sayd: Neither ỹ Goddes will permit, nor men wil suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weight of so great an empire shoulde rest vpon his shoulders. I will not rehearse how there be many men more noble thē he is, and of greater worthines, without whose cōsent no such thing may be suffred to be done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kynge, or the sonne of Roxane, whēsoeuer he shalbe borne. Seyng Perdicas goeth aboute to make hym selfe kynge, vnder pretence to be gouernour to the Infant. That is the cause why no kinge can please him, but suche one as is not yet borne. And in suche an haste as all we make to haue a kynge (which haste is both mete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate) he onlye doth wayte for the expyryng of tymes, and moreouer imagynynge that she shoulde bringe forthe a man chylde, whiche I thinke ye doubte not but he is readye to counterfeyte and exchaunge, if nede be. If it were so in very dede that Alexader had appointed him to be our king, I am of opinion that the same thing only (of all the thinges he hath commaunded) ought not to be

per-

perfourmed and kepte. Why do not you runne therfore to spoyle the treasure: seyng that the people ought to enherite it. When he hadde spoken those wordes he brake through the preasse of the armed men, and they whyche gaue hym wrye, folowed hym to the spoyle, wherof he hadde made mencion.

The gredines of ỹ treasure caused a great band of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assemble began to fall to discorde and sedicion: which had growen to greater inconuenience if a meane souldier whō bertye fewe did knowe, had not stepped forth, and spoken to the multitude. What nede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre seyng we haue a kynge alredye whiche you seke to finde. The same is Ardens Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that latelye was our kynge, borne and brought vp in the same religion and ceremonies that we do vse: who beyng the onlye heyre, I maruayle by what deseruing of hys, he is ouerslipped or what he hathe done, why he shoulde not enioye hys ryght, descended vnto hym by the vniuersall lawe of the worlde. If you seke one to be comparable to Alexander, you shall neuer fynde hym. If you will haue such one as shall approche nerte vnto hym, this onelye he. When these wordes were hearde emonges the multitude, they kept silence at the first, as if they hadde bene cōmaunded by auctoritie, but afterwardes they cried wt one voyce, ỹ Ardens shoulde be called, and that that were worthy death which made eny assemble without him. Then Python al besprinkeled wyth teares, began to speake. No we I perceyue (quod he) Alexanders case to be most miserable, seyng he is defrauded of ỹ fruit which such as were his souldiers & subiects shold byr forth at such a time as this is

The words of a souldeour in the assemble.

Ardens.

Pithons wordes.

for you hauing respect onlye to the name and memorye of your kynge, be vterlye blinde in the reste of thinges. His wordes tended directlye to the reproufe of Aridens that was elected kyng. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempte to him against whom they were mente. For the compassion they had of Aridens, caused them the more to fauour his cause, and therefore declared by an obstinate crye, that they woulde not suffre eny to raigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie, and still called for Aridens to come forthe emonges them. Wherupon Meleager for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas, toke an occasion boldlye to bring him into the assemble, whō the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philippe. This was the voyce of the people, but the nobilitie was of an other mynd, of whō Pithon toke vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in executiō, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (discended of the bloude royal) to be gouernours of the sonne whyche shoulde be borne of Roxane: adding moreouer that Craterus and Antipater shoulde haue the rule within Europe. And vpon this they sware the souldyers to be obedient to Alexanders issue.

Note.

Aridens was chosen kyng.

Meleager thē doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him departed wyth suche as were of his faction, but he returned immediatlye againe bringyng Philip wᵗʰ him into the court, & cried out to ꝑ multitude for the assistyng of the cōmune welth, in aydinge of the newe kynge whome a lyttle before they had elected: and willed them to make an experimente of his actiuitie, persuadyng that he was the meteste to rule ouer them being the issue of Philip, that had both a king to hys father, and a kyng to his brother. There is no profound Seca, so stormy nor tempestuous, that

taketh vp so many sourges & wrues, as a multitude doth mocions and alteracions, when they haue gotten the bryde of a newe libertie, not likely long to cõtinue. There wanted not some that gaue their consente to Perdicas, but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neither agree nor disagre, to eny thyng long time together: One while repentinge them of that they had determined, and streightwayes for thought thē of that repentaunce. Yet finally they were enclyned to prefer the kinges bloude. Aridens was put in such feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assemble: after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather slente, then decayed towardes him. So that at length he was called againe, and hys brothers vesture regal, whych lay in the chayre put vpō him. And Meleager put on his armoure, folowinge as a defence to the persone of the newe king. The souldiers of the fote band claskhed their speares to their targettes, threatening to shede their bloud, which wold couet ỹ kingdome that pertayned not to thē. They reioysed that the force of the Empire should not be disperkled but still continue in the same familie, the ryghte of whose enheritaunce commynge of the bloude royall, they shewed themselues ready alwayes to defend.

Note.

For by reason they were accustomed to haue the name of their king in suche honour and in veneracion: they thoughte no man worthy for it, but suche one as came therunto by discent of bloude. Perdicas therfore was afraied, and .vi. hundred men that were of an approued manhode, toke vpon him to defend the place wheras the body of Alexander lay. Ptoloneus ioyned him selfe vnto him, and the band of the young gentill men that were aboute the kynges persone. But so manye thou-

Embassadours were sent about a reconciliacion.

thousandes of armed men as were vpon the other syde did easely brake in vpon theym. Emonges whom the kyng was present, wyth a great band for the guard about his persone. wherof Meleager was chief. Perdicas therfore in a great furye, called suche to his part as would defend Alexãders body, but many of them were sore hurt with darres that were throwen from the contrary syde. At the last the auncient men plucked of their head peces (the better to be knowen) and desired them whiche were with Perdicas to abstaine from ciuyll warre, and geue place to the kynge and to the greater parte. Wherupon Perdicas was the fyrste that layde downe his weapon, & the reste did in lyke maner. Meleager then persuaded thẽ that they should not depart, but remaine stil about the deade corse: but he iudgynge that to be a deceite, and a meane to entrap hym, fled to a place on the further syde of Euphrates ryuer ouer against the court. Then ỹ horsemẽ which consisted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas and Leonatus, whose opinion was to depart out of the citye, and take the fieldes: but because Perdicas was not without hope, that the fotemen would haue taken his part remained stil wythin the Citye, lest he myghte seme to be the cause that ỹ horsemen should deuyde them selues from the rest of the armye. Meleager ceassed not to beare in the kyngs head, that he could not establish hym self surely in his estate, otherwise then by the death of Perdicas: whose ambicious mind desirous of innouation was (he said) to be preuented in tyme. He willed the kynge to remembre what Perdicas had deserued at his hãdes, and that no man could be faithful to him, whom he feared. The kyng suffryng the thing, rather then geuing his cõsent to the matter: Meleager tok

his

his silence for a commaundement and sent for Perdi-
cas in the kynges name, and they which were sent had
commission to kyll him if he made eny sticking to come
with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming accō-
panied only with .xvi. younge gentelmē (accustomed to
attende vpon Alexanders persone) mette them as they
would haue entred into his lodging & calling thē Me-
leagers slaues rebuked them w̄ such a constancy both
of mind & countenaunce, ỹ they returned backe againe
as men amased. Perdicas willed suche as were in hys
companye to leape on horsebacke & with a feawe of hys
frendes repaired vnto Leonatus, mindyng if eny vyo-
lence were moued agaynste hym, to repulse it wyth a
greater force. The next daye the Macedons grudged
and thought it a matter vnfitting that Perdicas shuld
be broughte in daunger of death after suche a sorte, and
therfore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes
of Meleagers doynges.

Ō But he vnderstandynge of the mutine that was e-
mōges the souldiers gaue place, and they repaired vn-
to the kyng demaundyng of hym if he had cōmaunded
Perdicas to be taken. He cōfessed the thing, but it was
done (he saide) by Meleagers motion, which he decla-
red to be no cause for them to make eny sturte, seing ỹ
Perdicas was a liue. The assemble hereupō brake vp,
& Meleager became greatly afraide, specially so aston-
ed by the parting of the horsemen, ỹ he wist not what to
do, for he sawe the myschiefe (whyche he a little before
had wrought against his enemy) like to light vpon him
selfe. And whiles he deuised thys and that, three dayes
were consumed and spente. The wonted fourme and
fashion of the court did remaine in the meane season.

For

For the Embassadours of diuers nacions made repaire vnto the kyng, the captaines of the armye dyd assemble aboute hym, and the guarde wayted in armoure as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there wythout eny apparant cause, signified some extreame dyspaire. There was suche a suspicion emonges theim selues, that men durste not companye togethers, nor speake one to another, but stode imagening secretly wyth them selues, and by comparyng the time present wyth the tyme past, and the new kyng with the olde, they began to desire hym that was gone. Then one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and authority they hadde folowed. Then they found them selues abandoned, emonges so many wild nacions, which were desirous vpon eny occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in these imaginacions, worde was broughte that the horsemen (whyche were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about Babilō, and stayed all vittayles, commynge to the Citye. Whereupon first beganne a scarsitie, and afterwardes a famyne. Therefore suche as were wythin the Citye, thoughte good eyther to make a reconciliacion wyth Perdicas, or els to fyghte out the matter. It chaunsed that suche as dwelled abrode in the countrey fearyng the spoyle of the villages, repaired into the citye. And they within the citie for lacke of vyttayles, departed into the countrey. So that euery one thoughte them selues surer eny where, then in their owne habitacions. Then the Macedons doubtinge some great inconuenience that myght come of this feare, assembled together in the courte and shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed emonges them that Embassadours should

be

be sent to the horsemen, for the surcessyng of all strife & deuision. Palus a Thessalian, Amillas a Megapolitã, and Perelaus were sente from the kynge: who declaringe their commission, receyued aunswere, that the horsemen wold not leuer their power, til the authours of the sedition were deliuered into their handes. Whē they were returned and their aunswere knowen, the souldiers without eny appoyntmente, put on their armour, and made such a tumult, that the kynge was enforced to come forth of the court, and sayd vnto them: If we shalbe at strife emōges our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioye the fruite of our contencion. Remembre that the quarell is with youre owne countreymen, wyth whome if ye rashely breake the hope of reconcilement, ye shalbe the beginners of a ciuill war: Let vs proue if the matter maye be mitigated by an other Embassedat. I am of opinion, that for asmuche as Alexāders body remaineth yet vnburied, thei wil gladly come together, to perfourme the due vnto the dead. And for my part, I hadde rather surrender vp agayne this dignitie, then eny bloude should be shed emonges my countreymen. For if no other hope of concorde do remaine, I desire and praye you so to do, as the better choise of both. And with that word he wept, and pulled the Diademe frō his head, holding the same forth with his hand, redy to haue deliuered it to eny man, ỹ would haue claimed to be more worthy then he. The moderacion ỹ he vsed both in his wordes, and his behauoure, caused thē all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which til ỹ time was obscured wt the greatnes of his brothers fame. They therfore required and encouraged him, to go forwardes in the matter as he had deuised. Whereupon he sent againe for Embassa-

Emmenisinge

The kinges wordes vnto the souldiers.

Emmenides.

dours the same men that went before, which had commission to require ỳ Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not muche sticked at, for Perdicas was desirous to remoue Meleager from the king, and thought that he alone should not be able to matche wyth Leonatus and hym. Upon this Meleager marched out of the citye with the foremen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes, ridynge before the bandes of the horsemen. There both battayles salutinge one an other, concorde, peace and amitye, was cõfirmed betwixt thẽ for euer (as it was thought). But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil warres should ryse emonges the Macedons. For gouernement is vnpacient of parteners, and the kyngdome was coueted by many. Which as it first grewe in force, so afterwardes it was dispersed againe: For when the bodye was burdened with moo heades thẽ it could beare, the other membres began to faile. So thempire of ỳ Macedons whych vnder one head myght wel haue stand. when it was deuyded into partes, fell to ruyne. For that cause the people of Rome iustlye muste confesse them selues bounde vnto their prince, for the felicitye they haue founde. Whych as a starre in the nyght appeared vnto them, that were neare loste. And as the sunne gaue lyghte to the worlde beynge in darckenes when without suche a head, the membres that were at variaunce, must nedes haue quayled. Howe many fyre brandes dyd he quenche: howe many swordes readye drawen did he put vp againe: Howe greate atempest did he pacifye with the sodeine cauime of his presence: The Empire nowe therefore dothe waxe grene and florysshing: Let me desire without enuy, that his house may continue many ages, and his posteritie remayne

Gouernment vnpacient of parteners. wyth ỳ kyngdome

A degression to the praise of thempe rour that was in the auncthours tyme.

for

for euermore. But to returne againe to the ordre of hi-
ſtory, from whence I was brought through the contē-
plation of our vniuerſal felicitie. Perdicas iudged the
only hope of his owne ſaufegard, to conſiſt in the death
of Meleager, thinkyng it neceſſary to preuent him be-
yng a man both variable, vnfaythfull, geuen to inno-
uation, and beſides his mortal enemy. But with deape
diſſimulation he kept his purpoſe ſecrete, to thintent
with the leſſe difficultie, he might oppreſſe him vnbe-
wares. He did ſuborne therfore priuely certaine of
bandes vnder his rule, to complaine openly (as though
it were without his knowledge) that Meleager ſhould
be made equal with him in auctoritye: whiche wordes
of the ſouldiers, whē they were reported vnto Mele-
ger, became in a great rage, declared their ſayinges
to Perdicas. He ſemed to wonder at the matter, bla-
minge their doinge, as though he had bene ſory for the
thing, and finally they agreed that the authors of ſuch
ſedicious wordes ſhoulde be taken. When Meleager
perceyued Perdicas ſo confirmable, he embraced hym
and gaue him thankes for his fidelitie beneuolence.
Therby a conſultacion had betwixte theym both, they
deuyſed howe to deſtroy ſuch as wroughte this deuiſiō
betwixt them. For the bringinge of that to paſſe they a-
greed, that thamy ſhould be purged according to their
countrey cuſtome. To the doyng whereof they ſeamed
haue a ſufficient occaſion, by reaſon of the late diſorde
emonges them. The kinges of Maredon in purifi-
ynge of their ſouldiers, were wont to vſe a kynde of
ceremony, deuidinge the bowels of a dogge in two par-
tes, and to caſte the ſame in the vttermoſte boundes of
the field, whereon they purpoſed to muſter the army.

Perdicas de
uiſed the
death of
Meleger.

A ceremonia
that was vſ
ſed in the pu
rifiyng of
tharmy af
ter an offēce
made.

H.ii. There

Ther the mē of warre accustome to stand armed, both the horsemen, the mercenary souldiers and the phalāx, euerye one parte. The same daye that this ceremonye was put in execution, the king stode in order of battaile with the horsemen and the Elephātes against the fotemen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When ỳ tropes of horsemen beganne to moue, the fotemen were stryken sodainly wyth feare, and by reason of the late dyscorde, conceyued a suspicion that the horsemen mente them no good. Wherfore they stode a while in a doubt, whether they shoulde retire into the citie or no by reasone that the fieldes serued best for the horsemen. But lest wythout cause they mighte condempne the fidelitie of their companions, they stode stil with a determinate mynde to fyghte, if eny profered them violence. Whē the battailes were almoste met together, onely a smale dystaunce lefte betwyxt theim (whereby the one parte was deuided from the other) the kynge by the prouocacion of Perdicas wyth a bande of horsemen dyd ryde a longe the fotemen, requirynge the deliuery of suche to be executed, as were the authors of the dyscorde: whom in very dede though he ought to haue defended: yet if thei refused their deliuery he threatened to bring against them, both the horsmen and the Elephantes. The fotemen were amased with the sodeinnes of the mischieke whyche they loked not for, and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager then in the rest, but they all iudged it moste expediente for them, rather to abide the aduēture of that request, then further to hasard fortune. When Perdicas sawe them astonyned and in feare, he seuered out to the numbre of three hundred of such as folowed Meleager, when he brake out of the assemble, that was firste made after Alexanders

ders death: whiche in the syght of all the armye were cast to the Elephantes, and there trampled to deathe with their feete. Of whiche matter Philippe was neither ỹ auctho⁹ nor the fo⁹bidder but thought to clayme that for his owne doyng, whiche should appeare best in the ende. This was a signification and a begynnyng vnto the Macedons of ciuil warres that ensued. Meleager vnderstandyng ouerlate the sleyght of that deuise, because there was no violēce offred vnto his persone, stode at the firste quietlye wythin the square: but shortly after, when he sawe his enemyes abusynge to his destruction the name of him whō he had made king, he dispayred of his owne safeguarde, and fledde into a temple. But the religiō of the place could not so defēd him, but that he was there slayne. Perdicas hereupon brought agayne the army into the cītye, & callyng coūsaile of all the pryncipall personages, it was agreed so to deuyde the Empyre, that the kyng shoulde remayne as chiefe of the whole. Ptolomeus to be lieutenaunte in Egipt and Affricke, and to haue the rule of the nacions there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Syria and Pheniees were appointed to Laomedon. Cylicia to Philotas. Licia with Pamphilia, & the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sente into Caria, and Menander into Lydia. The lesser Phrigia that toyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus prouynce. Eumenes had Cappadotia & Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defende that countrey so farre as Trapezunt, and make warre to Arbates which onely remayned enemy to the Empire. Media was appointed to Python, and Thracee to Lysmachus with other nacions theraboute borderyng vpon the sea of Pounte. It was ordeined also

Euerlate.

The deuis of thempire

Arbates.

that suche as shoulde be presidentes emonges the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nacions lyeng vpon the Ocean, and redde seas, should in matter of iustice vse regal iurisdiction. It was decreed that Perdicas should remayne with the kyng, and haue the gouernaunce of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testamente, but we haue founde the same to be false, though some, auethour do witnes the same. The Empire being deuided into partes, euerye one might well haue defended his porcion, if eny boundes could conteyne mens immoderate desires. Or if they beynge but ministers vnto a kynge, when vnder the couloure of the administration of an others dominion had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue auoyded the occasions of warre, seyng they were all of one nacion, & had their countreyes appointed out by limittes. But it is hard for men to be contēted wt that they haue in possession, when occasiō is proffered them of more. For the first thinges alwayes appere of no valure, when men be in hope of greater thinges to come. Sothat euery one of thē thought it an easier matter to encrease his kyngdome, then it was to gette it at the firste. Alexanders body in the meane season laye seuen dayes vnburied, for whiles euery man had care vpon the establishyng of the state, their mindes were drawen from the doyng of that solempne office.

There is no Countreye more feruente of heate then Mesopotamia. For the Sunne there burneth so hote, that it killeth the beastes that be without couert, and burne vp all thynges as it were with fire. And to the encrease therof, there be fewe sprynges of water, & the inhabiters vse suche polecye in hidyng of those

thole they haue, that ſtraungers can haue no vſe of the
This notwythſtanding, when Alexanders frendes
had gotten leyſure to take care of the deade corſe, and
came to viſite the ſame: they founde it wythout infec-
tion, corruption or chaunge of coloure: the ſame chere-
fulnes whyche conſiſteth of the ſpirite, not being yet
departed oute of his countenaunce. The the Egipci-
ans and the Caldeis were commaundyd to dreſſe hys
bodye after their maner, who at the fyrſte (as though
he hadde bene alyue) had a feare to put their handes
to him. But afterwardes making their prayers that it
might be lawfull for mortall men to touche hym, they
purged his body, and filled it wyth ſwete odours. And
afterwardes layed him vpon a hearſe of golde, and ſet
a Diademe vpon hys heade. Manye thought that
he dyed of poyſon, and that Iolle Antipaters ſonne
beyng one of his miniſters. had geuen hym the ſame.
Alexander oftentimes would ſaye, that Antipater co-
ueted the eſtate of a kyng, affecting more greatnes,
then partained to a Lieutenaunte, and that through
glorie of the victory he had gotten of the Lacedemoni-
ans, was become ſo proude, that he claymed al thinges
committed vnto him as hys owne. It is thought alſo
that Craterus was ſente to kyll hym, wyth thoſe olde
ſouldiours that were diſmiſſed. It is certaine that
there is a poyſon in Macedon founde in a water cal-
led Stiges, of ſuche force, that it conſumed Iron, and
will not be contemed in eny thyng, ſauing in the houe
of an horſe or mule: which poiſon was brought by Cal-
ſander, and deliuered to his brother Iolle, whiche pre-
ſented it in the drinke that the kyng laſte dronke. How-
ſoeuer theſe thinges be reported, the power of them of
whō the rumour wēt, ſhortly after oppreſſed ỹ infamy.

For

For Antipater became kyng both of Macedon and of Greace, and his children after him, whiche putte to deathe all suche as were enye thynge neare of kynne vnto Alexander. Ptolomeus whiche hadde the rule of Egipt, conueyed Alexanders bodye to Memphis, whiche wythin fewe yeares after was remoued to Alexandria, where as all honoure is geuen to the memorye of him, and to his name.

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